THE College Anthology

BETTER READING

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TURE : BETTER READING ONE : FACTUAL PROSE : BETTER READING TWO :

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WALTER BLAIR *University of Chicago*

JOHN C. GERBER *State University of Iowa*

Scott, Foresman and Company

Chicago, Atlanta, Dallas, New York

LITERATURE : BETTER READING ONE : FACTUAL PROSE : BETTER READING TWO : LITERATURE :

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PART TWO How to evaluate factual prose

INTRODUCTION

How this book teaches you to read more profitably*

Different ways of reading

SINCE this is a free country and there are virtually no laws that regulate reading, all Americans (except students, naturally) read pretty much what they please in any way that suits them. They read different things and, at different times, read in different ways. And all ways undoubtedly have value.

Suppose you pick up a newspaper, a magazine, or a book for relaxation. Whether your fare is a comic book (the grade-school children's favorite) or a mystery story (the favorite of many professors and businessmen), whether it is a love story or a biography or an article about golf, you will find that you can rest your mind. For reading of this sort, there is one simple rule—"Relax." No instruction is needed for following this rule, since most of us either have a natural-born talent for following it or can develop a talent without any help.

Or suppose that you are in college, and you read assignments in textbooks in order that you may learn as much as you must of what your teachers require. Using books about geography, history, and other subjects, you will trust your memory, underline passages, or take notes. And if you are intelligent and retain enough facts, you will eventually collect course credit and a certain amount of knowledge. For such reading, the teachers of individual subjects, since they award the grades, are the rule-makers.

* This volume concentrates on the reading of factual prose. *Better Reading 2: Literature* is particularly concerned with imaginative works.

Suppose further that though you seek for information, you have escaped, temporarily or permanently, from the ministrations of teachers. You may, of course, bother with nothing in print except what is of interest to you and may follow no particular scheme. Eventually your information will grow until, probably, you are quite well-informed about some subjects.

Gerald Stanley Lee makes a very convincing case for this kind of reading. "I am inclined to think," he writes, "that desultory reading is as good if not better for a man than any other reading he can do, if he organizes it—has habitual principles and swift channels of thought to pour it into. I do not think it is at all unlikely, from such peeps as we common mortals get into minds of men of genius, that this desultory reading . . . has been the making of them. The intensely suggestive habit of thought, the prehensile power of a mind, the power of grasping wide-apart facts and impressions, of putting them into prompt handfuls, where anything can be done with them that one likes, could not possibly be cultivated to better advantage than by the practice of masterful and regular desultory reading."

For such reading, though, only such general rules as Lee suggests ("Organize it. Have habitual principles and swift channels of thought to pour it into.") have been prescribed. Since it is a highly individual procedure, random reading for information must follow an individual bent.

Dangers

Now these ways of reading, for their purposes, are admirable, and any one of them at one time or another will be profitable for any particular reader. You will readily think of many instances when such ways are completely satisfactory. But there is no blinking the fact that these various procedures have limitations and—at times—even dangers.

Take the "relaxing" technique. Undoubtedly, thousands of relaxed followers of Al Capp's comic strip, "Li'l Abner," have been too inattentive even in looking at the drawings to get all the humor from them that they might. One of the funny things about the strip is that it constantly pictures, in the guise of hillbilly citizens of Dogpatch, very eminent (and very different) citizens of the outside world. Thus Winston Churchill, the British statesman, becomes Adorable Jones, a woman charmer; famed George Bernard Shaw becomes Adam Lazonga, the world's greatest lover; Li'l Abner himself, for a short time, becomes Frank Sinatra. Again, those lacking both the background and the awareness to see that one sequence of the strip parodied the novel *Gone with the Wind* have missed an amusing comic element. So have those who did not see that the sequence dealing with shmoos commented upon our capitalistic system.

Not only may relaxed and inattentive readers fail to appreciate fully even something so simple as comic strips; they may also, without knowing it, be led by their "reading" to acquire some political beliefs or prejudices. Even so unsophisticated a comic strip as Harold Gray's "Orphan Annie" has preached politics—in this instance of the conservative sort. A few years ago, at least one editor discontinued publishing Annie's adventures because, he said, he objected to "propaganda" being "smuggled into comic strips under the guise of entertainment." Most of us like to feel that we acquire our political attitudes, as well as other ways of thinking, by active thought rather than by sleepy reading.

Constantly, in addition to such prejudices, the relaxed reader is likely to garner misinformation. If you relax and read, say, a certain tobacco company's claim in numerous advertisements that "in recent laboratory 'smoking bowl' tests, Dash tobacco burned eighty-six degrees cooler than the average—coolest of all," you may easily conclude that Dash tobacco *is* "eighty-six degrees cooler than" most other brands of pipe tobacco and that it *is* the "coolest of all" said tobaccos. The company that wrote the advertisement, however, has specifically stated in a legal defense that the advertisement makes no such claim. Careful reading will show that the advertisement does not indicate either the exact nature of the tests or the kinds or numbers of tobaccos used, and that it only claims that Dash tobacco is eighty-six degrees cooler than the *average* tobacco tested.

Or take the "textbook" technique. Students ordinarily have to read textbooks, of course, to pass examinations; and often they have to be sweetly trustful in stowing away statements from the texts which they later dutifully reproduce on examinations. But if any student, by so reading and learning from textbooks, acquires the habit of swallowing without question anything he reads, he is a sad victim of this particular kind of reading, valuable and important though such reading may be.

Random reading, too, may have its dangers. Like the relaxed reader, the desultory reader may be too inattentive to details for his own good. Like the textbook reader, he may accept too many statements without question. And, of course, there is the danger that a random reader sometimes will take for granted that he has covered or mastered a subject when he has done nothing of the sort.

Finally, none of these kinds of readers, probably, will cultivate the sort of insight into the methods of good authors which prepares for his utilizing such methods when they may help his own writing. Since none of these readers is much concerned with effective techniques for expression, none consciously acquires them as he reads.

When careful reading is important

SOMETIMES such dangers may be unimportant. Your needs and the nature of what you are reading at given times may make it pointless to give attention to humorous nuances, propaganda, writing techniques, even some inaccuracies. On such occasions, an easy-going method of reading will, of course, be adequate.

But there will be many times when careful reading will be important for you. Take a few simple examples: If you are learning from a set of instructions how to lay a cement sidewalk—or how to bake a cake—you will need to learn precisely, and in the exact order, what the steps are in doing the job well. If you are reading the plea of a politician for your vote (provided you are eager to vote intelligently), you will need to know exactly what he says, and how sound his arguments are. If you are reading a legal contract preparatory to signing it, you will want to know in the minutest detail what its provisions are. If you are reading a scientific report, a book on philosophy, a historical document, an essay by an important author—in preparation for the writing of a term paper or a longer study—you will not be satisfied with anything less than a complete mastery of every detail.

Misreading a paragraph

THE WAY of reading suggested by this book will, we hope, help you avoid some of the limitations and dangers of easy-going reading when it is particularly important that you do so. To see how and why it may do this, consider the following short and rather simple paragraph, the way some undoubtedly will misread it, and what we suggest as a remedy. Here is the paragraph:

> Fascism is impossible in any country unless the road has been prepared for it through three developments—economic collapse, political paralysis, psychological hysteria. They are the pre-conditions for the building of fascist power. If you look at Germany you will see how these conditions operated. It was economic collapse that gave Hitler's movement a fertile soil in which to grow. How or why that economic collapse came—whether through the inherent decay of German capitalism, or the Carthaginian terms of the peace settlement, or the mismanagement of the post-war German governments—does not concern us here. What is essential is that the collapse of the economic structure—creating unemployment and monetary chaos, cutting the ground from under the habitual patterns of everyday life, filling even those who had jobs with a sense of insecurity—posed huge tasks which might have been too great even for a strong government. The German post-war governments were not strong. Along with economic collapse came political paralysis. Again one need not inquire into its sources. Whatever its source, it was the paralysis of the party system, and the failure of the whole parliamentary machinery to function, that made it possible for a minority group to capture power. And it

was the psychological hysteria flowing from this whole process of collapse and paralysis, and deliberately spread by the minority group among the masses that were ready for it, that finally led to the overthrow of German capitalist democracy. —MAX LERNER, *It Is Later Than You Think* (Viking, 1943), pp. 36-37.

Easy-going readers can make a number of wild statements about even so clear a paragraph as this one, and the sad experience of many teachers indicates that they probably will. For example: (1) "Mr. Lerner is telling us how we must proceed to bring about fascism in America." (2) "The author is proving that, because of the political paralysis of the better element in America, we are bound to have fascism any day now." (3) "This author says that though many things help bring about fascism, what really brings about the overthrow of capitalistic democracy is propaganda." (4) "Lerner, who is obviously a radical, tries to show that a capitalistic system like the one we have leads inevitably to fascism."

Ridiculous? Yes. But suppose we want to be sure that these readings are wrong and a different reading is better—how are we to cope with such misreadings? If you say, "Read the paragraph carefully to get the real meaning," the perpetrator of each of the above outrages will probably reply, "Oh, I did." Even if you read the paragraph aloud to these misreaders, they probably will say in a smug chorus, "See?" What you need, clearly, is a way of arguing that some readings are right—a way of proving to others, and to yourself, that your careful reading makes the best sense.

The way taught by this book

THIS TEXT attempts to teach such a procedure. The way here taught is characterized by careful attention to three things as aids to the reader in understanding the author: (1) the meanings—literal and emotional—of words; (2) the context, i.e., the relationship of what the author is saying to what he has said or will say later; (3) the form used by the writer, i.e., the order of words in sentences and the organization of paragraphs and of longer units of prose. We ask that you consider all these—word meanings, context, and form—in relationship to the author's purpose and message.

You can, for instance, achieve an understanding of Lerner's paragraph which is clearly and demonstrably more than guesswork by carefully noting both the meanings of words and the form used by the author—the way the sentences and the paragraph are organized—and by making sure that you are prepared to prove any statement you make by referring to details in the paragraph itself. (Here you have no evidence about the context in which this paragraph occurs.) Note precisely how you will prove your statements: You will prove statements about *meaning* largely by calling attention to

relevant details in the form or the method of development; and you will prove statements about *form* or *method* largely by pointing out details in the subject matter.

Consider how you would verify the following statement about *the meaning* of the paragraph:

"The chief idea of Lerner's paragraph is that three developments—economic collapse, political paralysis, and psychological hysteria—clear the way for fascism." Proof of the accuracy of this statement can come from pointing to details of the author's procedure: "The first sentence expresses the idea as I have stated it. The second sentence repeats the same idea in different words, thus emphasizing the concept. This is the only concept in the paragraph thus emphasized by repetition. The third sentence indicates that the rest of the paragraph will be concerned with an example of the working out of the concept, and the remaining sentences live up to this indication. Everything about *the way the paragraph is written*, therefore, supports my claim about its main idea."

Now consider how you would support a statement about *the form employed—the author's method*:

"The author arranges his discussion of the three road-clearers for fascism according to a time order, first discussing two which operate simultaneously, then one which follows as a result." To prove the accuracy of this statement you might point to *details of meaning* in this way: "Sentence 6 says that 'Along with economic collapse came political paralysis.' Now 'along with' makes sense only if it means 'at the same time as.' Further, sentence 11 refers to 'this whole process of collapse and paralysis,' thus implying that the two operated together as a single process. Sentence 11 also states that psychological hysteria 'flowed from' both collapse and paralysis. In other words it followed them and must have resulted from them. Note, too, that the masses were 'ready for' such hysteria—a fact which can only be explained by the operation of economic collapse and political paralysis.

"All these details of content and form offer support for my claims about the paragraph."

Thus, by seeing and being prepared to show interrelationships between substance and technique, you may achieve an understanding of this paragraph—or of other short or long pieces of informative prose—which is both thorough and demonstrable.

How closely the content and the form of a paragraph are related has been revealed by such a discussion of each. And the very fact that neither discussion can be exclusively concerned with either form or content is further proof of their intimate interrelation. This is why we believe that the ability to perceive both, and to recognize interrelationships, is of great value.

Values of this method

READERS of any sort who have such an ability, whether they are reading something light for relaxation or something heavy (a textbook, for instance) for needed information, will be able to avoid dangers in their reading. And readers who want to do a careful job of mastering and evaluating any article or book can acquire the necessary complete understanding.

Often nothing very complicated will be involved in such thorough reading, because most authors try very hard to make themselves clear and do not have very difficult ideas to set forth anyhow. Sometimes, though, authors—great authors even—who have something valuable to say will not be very accommodating in their way of saying it. And often the best authors will write clearly enough but will be setting forth ideas which are quite complicated. In these instances particularly, a study of content and form—word by word, sentence by sentence, paragraph by paragraph—will offer a sure way to full meaning.

So far the talk has been about your *understanding* an author as a result of your use of this method of reading. Notice now that the method will also help you to *evaluate* justly what he says. For full understanding, clearly, is a prerequisite if you are to judge a piece of writing properly. Evaluations of Lerner's paragraph involve answers to such questions as: "Does it accomplish its task?" "Is it true?" "Is it logical?" "Is it good writing?" Now if answers to such questions are based upon any of the misstatements about the paragraph quoted earlier, they will, of course, be ridiculous. Evaluations that are based upon a real understanding, however, as well as upon the use of sound standards of the sort considered in Part Two of this book, will be exact.

Those of you who learn to read in the way proposed here may find that such reading has another value—that seeing *how* an author says what he does will lead to a useful insight into writing methods. Such insight will make possible the appreciation of good workmanship and the criticism of bad workmanship. An understanding of successful writing procedures also will help you solve the problems that are sure to arise when you yourself have writing to do. Anyone who writes well needs, in addition to something to say, a way of saying it effectively. By noting how writers have expressed themselves skillfully, you may develop a similar skill.

The plan of this book

THE VARIOUS parts of this book are meant to develop your skill in careful and accurate reading and a knowledge of writing techniques. Each of these parts, with the possible exception of those written by the editors, con-

tains readings that are of interest and of value both for what they say and for the way they say it. Questions which emphasize different problems accompany the selections. Both the selections and the questions, so far as is practical, have been graduated in difficulty. It is hoped that the selections not only will teach you to read but will also contribute valuable ideas and information.

The selections in Part One, "How to Follow Explanation and Argument," since they represent typical short units of the sort an author extends or combines when he writes a longer piece, are relatively simple both in their content and in their method. Questions accompanying the passages require the reader to look at words, sentences, and paragraphs in their relationships to one another, at no time demanding attention to more than a few paragraphs. Many of the questions can be answered by anybody who has common sense and who uses it with care. Others will require the help of suggestions about reading procedures which we have included in introductions and headnotes.

In Part Two, "How to Evaluate Factual Prose," we have explained the methods of judging various kinds of factual writing. Here also we have placed works of several kinds, along with comments upon their nature and questions that will give you practice in evaluating them. In general, the works are longer and rather more complex than those in Part One.

Part Three, "Problems of the Modern World," includes considerations by a number of authors, past and present, of a variety of problems which are important today. These considerations differ from one another in purpose, in form, in excellence. They also differ in the attitudes they express. In important ways, therefore, this section typifies the body of factual prose which you will be reading in the years to come.

We wish to acknowledge the valuable aid of the many teachers who have used the first edition of *Better Reading 1* and who have kindly suggested improvements of method and changes in selections. We are also grateful to the English composition staff of the University of Chicago and to the Communications Skills staff of the State University of Iowa, with whom we have worked on the problem of teaching students to read. To A. Craig Baird, Chester Cable, and Leon Dickinson we are particularly indebted.

W. B.

J. C. G.

PART ONE

How to follow explanation and argument

Clues to meaning

You have before you, say, a piece of factual writing. It is a piece of writing, in other words, in which the author has tried to clarify an idea or to argue in behalf of a certain attitude. In order to absorb his facts or to judge his argument, you need to discover exactly what he has said. How do you do this?

An obvious answer, of course, is that you read his words; you think about them while you read and (if necessary) after you have read, and in this way you get his meaning. But how can you make sure that the meaning which you have found is the actual meaning—what the author really said—rather than something you have just decided he ought to be saying?

To answer this question, let us consider your way of comprehending a very simple sentence, "I see the dog." You know what this sentence says for three reasons: (1) You are acquainted with the *meanings of the words.* You make use of your knowledge of each of the words in the sentence: as it were, you "translate" each precisely into what it signifies. If the sentence read, "I see the stethometer," you probably wouldn't understand it until you had looked up and defined for yourself the last word. You pay attention to the forms of the words and you understand what they signify. You know, for instance, that the author's use of the form of the verb "see," instead of "saw" or "have seen," makes clear that the time of the action is the present. (2) You consider the *context.* If the sentence happens to be one of a number in a paragraph or article, you learn the meaning by noticing the surrounding discussion: the word "dog" may mean a domesticated carnivorous quadruped; a wild animal belonging to the dog family, such as a wolf or a fox; a prairie dog; a despicable fellow; a "gay" dog; or a mechanical device for gripping or holding something. It is by noticing the nature of the context that you discover which of these meanings applies. You take into account not only literal meanings but also the emotional associations —the connotations of the words. (3) You pay attention to the *order of the words.* You notice the sequence in which the author has arranged the words in his sentence, and your understanding of this order helps you decipher his meaning. The fact that the word "I" is at the start of the sentence indicates that it is the subject: a different order ("The dog sees me," for example) would convey a completely different meaning.

You can show that you understand this sentence by citing exactly the details which have helped you to discover what it means—your understanding of the significations of the words, your examination of the nature of the context, and your perception of the meaning of the arrangement which has been used in putting the sentence together. In other words, you master meaning—and indicate that you have done so—by understanding not only what individual words signify but also by giving thought

to the way the author's method of expression is interrelated with what he is saying.

The exercises in Part One of this book are designed to develop and to test your reading for understanding and for perception of the author's ways of solving problems of expression. Almost, though not quite, exclusively, they ask you to think about the relationships between (1) words, contexts, arrangements of words, and (2) meanings. (Later on, emphasis will shift to evaluations of forms and points of view.)

One important reading skill that you will need to develop is the ability to ask and answer appropriate and significant questions on the material you read. To help you develop this ability, Part One provides with each selection detailed questions, questions of the type that you should learn to ask yourself. The questions (according to their nature) will call forth answers of three sorts: (1) those which you can support by citations of word meanings, contexts, and arrangements, and about which there will be little dispute; (2) those which will involve disagreements about the relative importance of some things which you and others notice in passages; and (3) those which report personal reactions.

Look, for instance, at the second selection in this book, John Steinbeck's "The Great Frog Hunt," pages 7-8. The headnote tells you that the overall pattern is a "time arrangement," i.e., an ordering of details according to the times when they occur. The selection follows, accompanied by questions. Let us see how you might answer the first question:

Question « 1 (A): What are the stages in the traditional frog hunt?

Answer: (A) *If the hunt is unsuccessful. Stage 1*: The hunter approaches with his weapon and the frog sits still. *Stage 2*: The hunter takes the action which should "get" the frog. *Stage 3*: At the last second, the frog (a) jumps, (b) plops into the water, (c) swims to the bottom. *Stage 4*: The frog waits. *Stage 5*: The hunter goes away.

Answer: (B) *If the hunt is successful. Stage 1*: The hunter approaches with his weapon and the frog sits still. *Stage 2*: The hunter lunges, and gets the frog.

To find this answer, you notice the meanings of the words, both those which indicate relationships and those which are subjects and predicates of the sentences. You consider the words in their context. You notice the order of the words within the sentence and the order of the sentences themselves.[1]

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[1] Although an explanation of how you find this answer will undoubtedly take much longer than the process itself, it may be helpful to go through the procedure in some detail at this time. The context shortly makes clear to you that the word "frog" here means "a tailless, leaping amphibian." You notice that the opening two sentences introduce the topic which is involved in the question, "The traditional frog hunt" ("a pattern of hunt and parry" developed "during the millennia that frogs and men have lived in the same world"). You notice, next, that the third sentence describes part of the pattern, and since you have learned from the headnote that the author has used a time arrangement, you assume that this will be the first stage. Your assumption is confirmed when your further reading shows that the other happenings described come later than this one. You go on to sentence 4, and notice that it tells of what the frog does simultaneously with the approach of the hunter (he waits)—and you decide that since no change of time is involved, this sentence must concern a second aspect of the first stage. You next look for indications of time which will mark off the second stage. You find Stage 2 heralded by "until," Stage 3 by "then," Stage 4 by "and," and Stage 5 by "until," all in sentence 5. "Now and then," in sentence 8, shows you that there is an alternative version of this traditional pattern, that sometimes the whole process ends with Stage 2—if the hunter is too quick for the frog; and so you divide your answer into parts A and B.

To argue that your answer is correct, you may make use exactly of the details in the passage, and the line of reasoning which led to your conclusions. In this way, you can prove that your answer is not a guess but an analysis the accuracy of which can be demonstrated.

This is a sample of the kind of activity you will be carrying on as you answer the questions in Part One of this book. A large share of the questions will call for answers as clearly justifiable as this one. What you need to do in answering such questions is hunt down and find incontrovertible evidence in the passage itself. There will be a small number of questions, in addition, which will call for answers of two other sorts—(2) answers about which there may be reasonable disagreement, and (3) answers which state personal reactions. It may be useful for you to look at questions which call for answers of the second and third types.

(2) About question « 1 (I) on page 8, "What is the point in shifting the simile from berries to potatoes?" there may be a respectable difference of opinion. You answer this question, first, by considering exactly what these similes may contribute to the development of the passage. You find that the similes may be justified in two ways: (a) they are vivid, i.e., they help the reader visualize and therefore understand what happens. Each figure thus helps to explain a detail in the operation—the berry figure, the way a great number of frogs is captured, and the potato figure, the way the frogs are tossed into gunny sacks. (b) They are incongruous, first, with the usual depiction of frogs, second, with one another. Therefore, they provide one more humorous touch in a passage which is generally humorous. Having taken this first step toward answering the question, you next consider the nature of the point, i.e., the important achievement of the similes. Since there is no way of proving that the point is either one or both of these achievements, there may be argument about the problem. Note, however, that even in answering such a question, there will be agreement about the possible values of the shift; there will be disagreement only concerning the relative importance of the values.

(3) Question « 1 (F) (p. 7) reads, "What effect is created by repeating 'And the feet'?" Like all questions dealing with the "effect" of a passage, this calls for a personal reaction. Since the "effect" is upon you, you are the final authority upon its nature. Here, in other words, you are asked to discuss your emotional and intellectual reaction to a particular phrase. Nevertheless, your answer will appear to be rather silly unless it shows that you have reacted intelligently to the text. If, for instance, you say, "The effect is to make me think of an abstract painting by Picasso," your auditors will feel that the relationship between the passage and you has been rather tenuous. A more sensible answer would be one which dealt not only with the effect upon you but also with the details in the text which created that effect. One such answer, for instance, might be: "I notice that this is the fifth time that the word 'feet' occurs in seven successive sentences. The impression I get, as a result, is of a great number of rushing, flinging, threshing, inexorable feet. The repetition of the phrase 'And the feet' emphasizes the number of references and adds to the impression. Since at this point, I am humorously sharing the excitement of the bewildered frogs, the

effect is to communicate their desperate confusion by repeating the chief cause of it." Such an answer not only tells of the impact of the phrase; it also suggests why it has such an impact and relates the phrase to details in the passage.

In answering most of the questions in Part One, then, you will need to consider only the text itself. In answering a few, you will agree about possible answers but you may disagree about which is superior. Finally, in answering a few others, you will describe your own reactions to a passage, preferably relating your reactions to details in the passage. In answering every question, you will do well to hunt, in the text itself, for the clues given by the words, contexts, and arrangements which the author uses to communicate his meanings.

Patterns of explanation

NATURALLY the selections in Part One will be longer than a single sentence or paragraph, but in reading and comprehending longer pieces of work you use a method quite similar to that used for deciphering the meaning of a sentence. (For the reading of a paragraph in this fashion, see the discussion of the Lerner passage in the "Introduction.") A piece of factual prose, large or small, is a sort of mosaic, the parts of which are words, sentences, paragraphs, perhaps chapters. If you are to acquire the facts explained in such a piece of prose, you will need to give thought not only to the meanings of individual words but also to the meanings conveyed by the author's methods in ordering words, sentences, paragraphs, or sections.

Each of the following selections typifies a pattern of thought and expression frequently used by authors of factual prose—a pattern, therefore, which you will need to recognize in order to understand the relationships between ideas, and hence the ideas themselves. In a headnote for each selection, the editors describe the pattern of the whole selection. The selection then follows, accompanied by questions which require that you notice how words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs—small and larger parts of the mosaic—contribute to the development of the overall pattern.

As you read, you will see that a writer or speaker, when he wishes to explain something, may organize his material in any of a number of ways—chronologically or in a time sequence ("The Great Frog Hunt," p. 7, "Recipe for New England Pie," p. 6, "The Survey Q3R Method of Study," p. 9); according to a space arrangement ("The Battlefield of Waterloo," p. 11, "It's a Long Way to Seattle," p. 12); a cause-to-effect arrangement ("Open Air Life in the West," p. 14); comparison and contrast ("Comedy Isn't All Laughter," p. 16); analogy ("The Stagecoach," p. 19); analysis ("Radio Doesn't Enter-

tain," p. 23, "Why the *Reader's Digest* Is Popular," p. 25, "Detrital Sediments," p. 28); familiar-to-unfamiliar arrangement ("Animal Chemistry," p. 31); impressionistic presentation ("Travel on the Ohio River," p. 34); or definition ("Democracy," p. 37).

All these exercises are, of course, not ends in themselves but means to understanding. After you have noted how these smaller units are organized in Part One of this book, you will see in your studies of Parts Two and Three how they are combined to form longer articles. For the moment, however, you will be concerned with the reading of smaller units of factual prose given in the following selections.

TIME ARRANGEMENT. *The following selection is from Mark Twain's* A Tramp Abroad. *It is a simple example of probably the most common of all the patterns used in explanation—a chronological or time arrangement. A well-written recipe or set of directions for doing something takes up the steps or stages, one at a time, in the order of their occurrence. In such a piece of writing, the writer's three chief tasks, obviously, are (1) to make sure that he arranges his material in the time order, (2) to make sure that he presents his directions clearly, and (3) to make sure that he indicates to the reader when each step begins and ends.*

SAMUEL L. CLEMENS

Recipe for New England pie

TO MAKE this excellent breakfast dish, proceed as follows: Take a sufficiency of water and a sufficiency of flour, and construct a bullet-proof dough. Work this into the form of a disk, with the edges turned up some three-fourths of an inch. Toughen and kiln-dry it a couple of days in a mild but unvarying temperature. Construct a cover for this redoubt in the same way and of the same material. Fill with stewed dried apples; aggravate with cloves, lemon-peel, and slabs of citron; add two portions of New Orleans sugar, then solder on the lid and set in a safe place till it petrifies. Serve cold at breakfast and invite your enemy. « 1

« 1 (A) *How has Mark Twain indicated that he is following a "time arrangement" in this recipe?* (B) *Indicate, in your own words, what the various steps are.* (C) *Point out words, phrases, or sentence constructions which mark off the steps.* (D) *What attitude does Clemens seem to have toward New England pie? How does his choice of words and details help you discover this attitude?* (E) *Is this funny? Why or why not?*

TIME ARRANGEMENT. *This passage from a novel tells a story. But since it makes clear the nature of a process, it also explains. A good many passages of exposition —explanations of processes, of the events in someone's life, of historical happenings—have a pattern essentially like that of fiction. The writer of such explanations, like the writer of a recipe, must make clear the sequence of events or steps by ordering their details according to time and by marking off the stages with transitional words or phrases or whole sentences. Steinbeck, as the study of this passage will show, has ordered his events chronologically and has clearly marked off the stages in his story.*

JOHN STEINBECK

The great frog hunt

DURING THE MILLENNIA that frogs and men have lived in the same world, it is probable that men have hunted frogs. And during that time a pattern of hunt and parry has developed. The man with net or bow or lance or gun creeps noiselessly, as he thinks, toward the frog. The pattern requires that the frog sit still, sit very still and wait. The rules of the game require the frog to wait until the final flicker of a second, when the net is descending, when the lance is in the air, when the finger squeezes the trigger, then the frog jumps, plops into the water, swims to the bottom and waits until the man goes away. That is the way it is done, the way it has always been done. Frogs have every right to expect it will always be done that way. Now and then the net is too quick, the lance pierces, the gun flicks and that frog is gone, but it is all fair and in the framework. Frogs don't resent that. But how could they have anticipated Mack's new method? How could they have foreseen the horror that followed? The sudden flashing of lights, the shouting and squealing of men, the rush of feet. Every frog leaped, plopped into the pool, and swam frantically to the bottom. Then into the pool plunged the line of men, stamping, churning, moving in a crazy line up the pool, flinging their feet about. Hysterically the frogs displaced from their placid spots swam ahead of the crazy thrashing feet and the feet came on. Frogs are

« 1 (A) *What are the stages in the traditional frog hunt?* (B) *What is gained by describing the traditional "pattern" from the point of view of the frogs?* (C) *The author says, "The frogs don't resent that." What, presumably, do they resent?* (D) *What ideas does the "But" (in the sentence beginning "But how could they have anticipated") bring into opposition? What is the function of the sentence which it introduces?* (E) *Why does the sentence beginning "Every frog leaped" repeat part of an earlier one? Why is "frantically" introduced?* (F) *What effect is created by repeating "And the feet"?*

good swimmers but they haven't much endurance. Down the pool they went until finally they were bunched and crowded against the end. And the feet and wildly plunging bodies followed them. A few frogs lost their heads and floundered among the feet and got through and these were saved. But the majority decided to leave this pool forever, to find a new home in a new country where this kind of thing didn't happen. A wave of frantic, frustrated frogs, big ones, little ones, brown ones, green ones, men frogs and women frogs, a wave of them broke over the bank, crawled, leaped, scrambled. They clambered up the grass, they clutched at each other, little ones rode on big ones. And then—horror on horror—the flashlights found them. Two men gathered them like berries. The line came out of the water and closed in on their rear and gathered them like potatoes. Tens and fifties of them were flung into the gunny sacks, and the sacks filled with tired, frightened, and disillusioned frogs, with dripping, whimpering frogs. Some got away, of course, and some had been saved in the pool. But never in frog history had such an execution taken place. Frogs by the pound, by the fifty pounds. They weren't counted but there must have been six or seven hundred. Then happily Mack tied up the necks of the sacks. They were soaking, dripping wet and the air was cool. « I

(G) *In the sentence beginning "A wave of frantic," how is the effect heightened by all the parallelisms and repetitions?* (H) *What is meant by "the flashlights found them"?* (I) *What is the point in shifting the simile from berries to potatoes?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (J) *What different ways of hunting are included in the traditional "pattern"? Exactly how was Mack's "new method" different from the "pattern"?* (K) *How does Steinbeck arouse our sympathy for the frogs? What human attributes does he give them? Point out words and phrases.* (L) *This selection is given as an example of a time arrangement. By what different means has Steinbeck established the time relationship? Point out specific words and phrases.* (M) *Where might you divide this passage to make two paragraphs of it? Would there be any value in making this change?* (N) *Point out and justify, if you can, (a) verbless sentences, (b) the sentences beginning with "And," (c) repetition of a word in the same sentence, (d) any characteristics of style that seem unusual to you.*

TIME ARRANGEMENT. *This example of an explanation organized according to a time arrangement represents a type of reading matter which is quite important to students—the textbook. Authors of such works often, like Professor Robinson, use every means they can think of to make the divisions of their treatments completely clear to the reader. This piece will be of interest to students not only because it is an example of textbook writing but also because it outlines a method of studying textbooks which many students have found very helpful.*

FRANCIS P. ROBINSON

The Survey Q3R method of study

THE TITLE for this new higher-level study skill is abbreviated in the current fashion to make it easier to remember and to make reference to it more simple. The symbols stand for the steps which the student follows in using the method; a description of each of these steps is given below: « 1

SURVEY 1. *Glance over the headings in the chapter to see the few big points which will be developed.* This survey should not take more than a minute and will show the three to six core ideas around which the rest of the discussion will cluster. If the chapter has a final summary paragraph this will also list the ideas developed in the chapter. This orientation will help you organize the ideas as you read them later. « 2

QUESTION 2. Now begin to work. *Turn the first heading into a question.* This will arouse your curiosity and so increase comprehension. It will bring to mind information already known, thus helping you to understand that section more quickly. And the question will make important points stand out while explanatory detail is recognized as such. This turning a heading into a question can be done on the instant of reading the heading, but it demands a conscious effort on the part of the reader to make this query for which he must read to find the answer. « 3

« 1 (A) *How soon, and in what ways, do you learn that this passage is to be organized according to time?*

« 2 (B) *Which of the procedures for finding the chief points in a chapter would be useful for a survey of this passage by Robinson?*

« 3 (C) *What are the advantages of turning the first heading into a question?*

READ 3. *Read to answer that question,* i. e., to the end of the first headed section. This is not a passive plowing along each line, but an active search for the answer. «4

RECITE 4. Having read the first section, look away from the book and try briefly to *recite the answer to your question.* Use your own words and name an example. If you can do this you know what is in the book; if you can't, glance over the section again. An excellent way to do this reciting from memory is to jot down cue phrases in outline form on a sheet of paper. Make these notes very brief!

NOW REPEAT STEPS 2, 3 AND 4 ON EACH SUCCEEDING HEADED SECTION. THAT IS, TURN THE NEXT HEADING INTO A QUESTION, READ TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION, AND RECITE THE ANSWER BY JOTTING DOWN CUE PHRASES IN YOUR OUTLINE. READ IN THIS WAY UNTIL THE ENTIRE LESSON IS COMPLETED. «5

REVIEW 5. When the lesson has thus been read through, *look over your notes to get a bird's-eye view* of the points and of their relationship *and check your memory* as to the content by reciting on the major subpoints under each heading. This checking of memory can be done by covering up the notes and trying to recall the main points. Then expose each major point and try to recall the subpoints listed under it. «6

These five steps of the Survey Q3R Method—Survey, Question, Read, Recite, and Review—when polished into a smooth and efficient method should result in the student reading faster, picking out the important points, and fixing them in memory. The student will find one other worthwhile outcome: quiz questions will seem happily familiar because the headings turned into questions are usually the points emphasized in quizzes. In predicting actual quiz questions and looking up the answers beforehand, the student feels that he is effectively studying what is considered important in a course. «7

«5 (D) *What justification does the author have for reconsidering steps 2 and 3 under heading 4?*

«6 (E) *Precisely how does the process called "Review" differ from the process called "Recite"?*

«7 (F) *What, according to Robinson, are the values of the Survey Q3R Method?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (G) *What devices in addition to those which you have seen in previous selections has the author used to mark off the stages of the process? How many of these devices do you believe to be desirable? Why?*

SPACE ARRANGEMENT. *In his novel* Les Miserables, *Hugo, preparing to describe the battle of Waterloo, had the problem of giving his readers enough information about the lay of the land so that they might follow his account of the movements of troops. Essentially, what he had to do was to make clear, first, what the whole field was like, and then, how the opposing forces were deployed. Wisely, therefore, he let the actual location of various details in the landscape suggest the order in which he told of these details. He started by comparing the whole battlefield to a familiar figure—the capital letter "A"—and then proceeded systematically to place details on that basic figure.*

VICTOR HUGO

The battlefield of Waterloo

THOSE WHO would get a clear idea of the battle of Waterloo have only to lay down upon the ground in their mind a capital A. The left stroke of the A is the road from Nivelles, the right stroke is the road from Genappe, the cross of the A is the sunken road from Chain to Braine-l'Alleud. The top of the A is Mont St. Jean, Wellington is there; the left-hand lower point is Hougomont, Reille is there with Jerome Bonaparte; the right-hand lower point is La Belle Alliance, Napoleon is there. A little below the point where the cross of the A meets, and cuts the right stroke, is La Haie Sainte. At the middle of this cross is the precise point where the final battle word was spoken. There the lion is placed, the involuntary symbol of the supreme heroism of the imperial guard. « 1

The triangle contained at the top of the A, between the two strokes and the cross, is the plateau of Mont St. Jean. The struggle for this plateau was the whole of the battle. « 2

The wings of the two armies extended to the right and left of the two roads from Genappe and from Nivelles; D'Erlon being opposite Picton, Reille opposite Hill. « 3

Behind the point of the A, behind the plateau of Mont St. Jean, is the forest of the Soignes. « 4

« 1 (A) *What exactly does the first sentence do?* (B) *From the details given in the second and third sentences, start a diagram of the battlefield.* (C) *The lion is the national emblem of Great Britain. What is meant by the sentence beginning "There the lion is placed"?*

« 2 *and* « 3 (D) *What kind of information is given in paragraphs 2 and 3? How does it differ from that in paragraph 1?*

« 4 *and* « 5 (E) *How does the information in paragraphs 4 and 5 differ from that in*

As to the plain itself, we must imagine a vast, undulating country; each wave commands the next, and these undulations, rising toward Mont St. Jean, are there bounded by the forest. « 5

paragraphs 2 and 3? (F) *What information given earlier is necessary for the understanding of paragraphs 4 and 5? What is not?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION: (G) *Finish your diagram of the battlefield.* (H) *What specific words and phrases does Hugo employ to establish space relationships? Underline each of them. Where in the sentence do they usually occur?* (I) *Do you think you are acquainted well enough with the general lay of the land to follow the account of troop movements? If not, what changes or additions do you think would make the explanation clear?*

SPACE ARRANGEMENT. *Perry's consideration of the remoteness of Seattle, like Hugo's consideration of the battlefield of Waterloo, is organized according to the concept of space. Unlike Hugo, however, the modern author does not start with an overall description of the territory with which he is concerned. Instead, he starts with the East Coast and then treats, in order, the areas between the East and the city in the Far West.*

GEORGE SESSIONS PERRY

It's a long way to Seattle

THE CENTRAL FACT about Seattle, the thing that particularly differentiates it from most other cities in the United States, is that it is situated back of, beyond, away from almost anywhere else. From such Eastern centers of population as Baltimore, New York and Boston, it is just about as long a way to Seattle as it is to Tipperary. The Wright brothers have moved Mt. Rainier closer to Manhattan in terms of time, but not a millimeter closer in space. And you'll never have a personal feel of the somehow soul-expanding enormity of this intervening land mass until you have traversed its astonishingly dissimilar surface at ground level. « 1

When you leave the populous east-north-central area, the last large city you see is Minneapolis. Then for hundreds of miles you roll across the rich

« 1 (A) *How many times is the idea of the first sentence repeated? What justification is there for such frequent repetition? How does the author avoid monotony?*

flat black plains of western Minnesota and North Dakota, smooth land that is adorned in summer with billions of yellow blossoms of wild mustard and oceans of blue-green spring wheat. In western North Dakota the earth begins to go into convulsions, and you are in the Bad Lands. Here, and on across the broad reaches of Montana, the towns are multiple scores of miles apart. Each is a kind of miniature Reno, with lots of boots and bars and clinking silver dollars, lots of rugged, weather-cured people. All the salutations you receive are in loud, friendly voices. You sense in the people an exhilarating pride-without-smugness. « 2

By the time you reach that alfresco Maginot line, the Rocky Mountains, you can no longer hear the names of Lewis and Clark without doffing your hat and coming to attention. For they explored all this without benefit of A.A.A., Duncan Hines or internal-combustion engines. Even today there are only the highway signs and the sight of American farm machinery working in the valleys to remind you that you haven't, through some ill-starred fluke, wandered off into Tibet to have your misadventures posthumously recorded by James Hilton. « 3

Spokane, Seattle's inland outpost—and you may be sure that is not the way Spokane thinks of herself—is the first city of more than 40,000 you've seen in well over a thousand miles. Then you cross a desert, pass through some magnificent timber and over the Cascade Mountains. Finally, almost unbelievably, there, doubly enchanted by nature and distance, lies Seattle. « 4

« 2 (B) *How does the first sentence in paragraph 2 relate to paragraph 1? To paragraph 2?* (C) *How do the organization and development of paragraph 2 contribute to the central thought of the selection?*

« 3 (D) *What words in paragraph 3 relate it to the preceding paragraphs? How do they indicate the organization of the whole selection?* (E) *What is meant by "alfresco Maginot line"? How does this figure of speech help the author present his thought? What is the relevance of the talk about (a) Lewis and Clark? (b) Tibet?*

« 4 (F) *If Perry has organized his explanation correctly, is Spokane east or west of (a) the Rocky Mountains, (b) the Cascade Mountains? Justify your answer.* (G) *How does the final sentence (a) summarize, (b) augment the thought heretofore developed?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (H) *Why is the overall organization better adapted to the development of the thought than an organization similar to that of Hugo would be?* (I) *What reasons might be given for the paragraphing?*

CAUSE-TO-EFFECT ARRANGEMENT. *The relationship between cause and effect is frequently demonstrated by writers of explanations. Students of physics and of chemistry, of sociology and of history, of art, music, and literature are constantly interested in studying and reporting reasons for the phenomena in their fields. The following passage is an example of this kind of explanation. In the opening paragraph, Mr. DeVoto tells about certain conditions, or causes, which prevail in the West, and later he traces the results, or effects, of these conditions.*

BERNARD DEVOTO

Open air life in the West

BASIC in the Western way of life is the naturalness of living much in the open. You do not need the weather forecast in order to set the date for a picnic, a camping trip, a hunting or fishing or skiing expedition; for a calendar will do. The climate is violent but it is also stable, and in the seasons when rain is not to be expected there will be no rain. Winters are short except in the high country, which lengthens the season for summer sports, and the high country is so accessible that the season for winter sports lasts through June and in some places all year. The great fact is the mountains. Mountains are within the driving range of all Westerners, even those on the eastern edge of the high plains who can reach the Black Hills. They are a refuge from heat and dust, from the aridity that dehydrates you and the intensity of sun that shrinks the ego. The forests are in the mountains, with the fish and game, the trails, the creeks, the ski runs, and the cliffs that need rope work. More important still, they put solitude and silence at the disposal of everyone. Western life has come to incorporate mountain living. A national forest near large towns—the Wasatch Forest for instance, which straddles the range it is named for just above Salt Lake City—will have a million or more visitors in the course of a year, practically all of them from the immediate vicinity. « 1

As a result most Westerners are hunters and fishermen and campers. Most of them are in some degree mountain climbers, naturalists, geologists. They

From "The Anxious West," *Harper's Magazine*, December 1946. Reprinted by permission of Bernard DeVoto.

« 1 (A) *What peculiarities of the climate and geography of the West does paragraph 1 discuss? What outdoor activities does each of these peculiarities make possible? Point out devices whereby the author indicates the relationships.* (B) *What justifications may be suggested for the organization of this paragraph?*

know nature at first hand and intimately, are adept at outdoor skills, can maintain themselves comfortably in the wilderness. Furthermore, since they have grown up to these things naturally they have not romanticized or stylized them—except, that is, for the myth of the cattle business. There are no rituals. A Westerner cooking a meal in the forest is simply cooking a meal in the best way with the means at hand—there is none of the high-church nonsense that accompanies outdoor cooking in Westchester or Long Island. Westerners are habituated to firearms and the right to bear them has not been abridged, but not even the movies have succeeded in tricking out Western firearms with the twaddle that has developed about them in the South. « 2

Such folkways have produced the West's happiest contribution to architecture. I do not mean the bungalow, which is an eyesore, but the mountain cabin. It is made of logs, usually lodgepole pine, which are peeled and varnished with clear shellac; sometimes for the exterior surfaces a little burnt sienna is added to the shellac. The logs are chinked with concrete; chimneys and fireplaces are made of stones ("rocks" in the West) from the nearest creek. The result is a charming, comfortable, functional dwelling which blends with the landscape, warm in winter, cool in summer, almost vermin-proof. It is excellent everywhere except when the resort business parodies it by covering steel and concrete hotels with a veneer of logs. « 3

An astonishingly large number of Westerners own such cabins or still more inexpensive camps in the mountains. They visit them at all seasons, not only for the annual vacation and at weekends but on momentary impulse. Similar cabins and camps can be rented everywhere. And almost no one is too poor to own an automobile and a camping outfit; those who use them, in fact, get farther into the wilderness and come to know it better than those with fixed camps. So the frontier's mastery of the outdoors has remained a part of Western life. It has contributed alike to the realism and the mysticism that make so striking a mixture in the Western consciousness. Familiarity

« 2 (C) *"As a result," the first sentence in paragraph 2 begins. How many sentences in the paragraph might this phrase introduce?* (D) *Give the meanings of the following words as they are used in this context:* romanticized, stylized, rituals, high-church nonsense, twaddle. *Are all of them well chosen?* (E) *What new cause for out-of-door living is offered in this paragraph? Trace the specific relationship between this cause and its effects. At what points and in what ways does the author emphasize "the* naturalness *of living much in the open"?*

« 3 (F) *In paragraph 3 what is meant by "Such folkways"? Precisely how have these folkways produced the mountain cabin?*

« 4 (G) *What preparation has there been for this sentence: "So the frontier's mastery of the outdoors has remained a part of Western life"? For the final sentence in the selection?*

with the skills of Western occupations is also widespread; most Westerners know something about mining, prospecting, engineering, lumbering, sheep growing, and cattle raising. The Westerner is the best American outdoorsman and he is almost the only remaining American who rides a horse naturally, not as one practicing a cult. «4

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (H) *What has the author achieved by paragraphing this passage as he has? Could the paragraphing occur at any other points? If so, should it have?* (I) *Comment upon (a) the choice of words, (b) the kinds of sentences in this passage. (Justify your comments by pointing out specific words and sentences.) Discuss the appropriateness or inappropriateness of the style.* (J) *Summarize the various causal relationships discussed in this passage.*

COMPARISON AND CONTRAST. *To make clear the nature of one or more members of the same class (character and character, type and type, idea and idea, etc.), authors often set one off against the other. For instance, a critic might explain his conception of the character of Hamlet by comparing or contrasting him with other characters in the same play, or with characters in other plays. By exploring areas of likenesses and differences, such authors limit and therefore clarify their subjects. Ordinarily, they turn from one subject to another, one aspect or quality to another, one likeness or difference to another, and the reader needs, of course, to notice which procedure is being followed. Thus, in reading the following selection, the reader needs to see that in the opening paragraph, O'Hara turns from the subject farce to the subject comedy, noticing meanwhile essential likenesses and differences. Later, the reader needs to see that the author is further explaining the nature of comedy by comparing and contrasting it with tragedy, by considering its subspecies, and by discussing a brief comic passage.*

FRANK HURBURT O'HARA

Comedy isn't all laughter

As a rule, when we are told that we are going to see a comedy we expect to be entertained by ludicrous situations. We expect to laugh. For most of us have a tendency when we *hear* the word "comedy" to *think* the word "farce." And indeed in this prompt reaction to the word we are his-

From *Today in American Drama* by Frank H. O'Hara. Reprinted by permission of The University of Chicago Press.

torically correct, since comedy was originally farce when in ancient days it romped into drama as a sort of poor relation. In the days of the Greeks comedy at first consisted largely in antics and buffoonery to which jibes and jests were gradually added. But sometimes the jester was a "character" who reminded one vaguely of Uncle Philo, let us say, or of the little old man with the squint eye who sold daggers in the shop on the Street of the Conquerors. His antics were still funny, but one could not always laugh aloud because Uncle Philo was a lonesome devil in spite of his buffoonery in the market place, and the old man who sold daggers was a hero if you knew his family life. And so, with characterization steadily developing as time went on, and with motivation leading to consequence and thus developing into story, comedy became something more than farce. If it was less hilariously funny, it was sometimes more amusing. Or *was* it "amusing," really, when one thought it over? The long view may check a laugh mid-air. At any rate, as man became more aware of himself, more self-conscious about the society of which he was a part, he tended to shift some of his problems out of the somber framework of tragedy into the everyday setting of comedy which dealt with people like himself, not always heroic and not always defeated. So the playwright through the centuries dealt more and more with comedy, evolving his increasingly lifelike situations out of the inconsistencies, the incongruities, the idiosyncrasies of human nature. « 1

This material of comedy changes very little from one generation to another (human nature being such a hardy perennial), though today our playwrights may arrange their materials in patterns which seem to us quite different from any the world has dealt with before, on the stage or off. Yet now, as always, the material of comedy is character, just as the material of tragedy is character. Characters in a situation. What the characters do with the situation—or what the situation does with the characters—depends upon the kind of characters they are. In tragedy, characters struggle with the inevitable to their certain defeat; but in comedy they struggle toward their possible release, their adjustment, their "happiness." In a light comedy they struggle blithely, either very much in earnest about unimportant ends or very casual over important ends; at least they never plow deep enough to turn up the roots of sinister motivation or to expose hidden caches of philosophic thought. In comedy of manners the characters struggle smartly,

« 1 (A) *What facts about (a) us, (b) the history of drama does the author point out in introducing the comparison between farce and comedy?* (B) *How has he made use of a time arrangement in organizing his paragraph?* (C) *How are farce and comedy essentially alike? Essentially unlike?*

« 2 (D) *How does O'Hara's consideration of tragedy help you understand comedy? How would an author of a tragedy presumably portray the Uncle Philo mentioned in*

catching their heels on the uncertain steps of "sophistication" and sometimes going down on their aristocratic noses but never to the genuine catastrophe of their physiognomy or the permanent disarrangement of their own—or society's—polite attire. In heroic comedy the characters struggle grandly, with lordly gesture and frequently with lordly speech, making noble sacrifices which never seem too sad because the sacrifice is likely to be decked with the spirit of waving plumes and acclaimed by a shouting populace. In still other comedies, neither light nor sophisticated nor romantic, the characters seem to struggle more or less nondescriptly in about the fashion we ourselves struggle day in and day out, contending with circumstances as they arise and expecting to escape any ultimate knockout. Much of the struggle around us in life seems to be of this sort—just naturally incongruous enough so that we know it is the struggle of comedy. There is our neighbor who works eight hours a day at an adding-machine in order to buy gas enough to spend eight hours a night in a car; there is our aunt who spends her money at auctions buying antique beds when she can't sleep nights anyway; there is our cousin who lives next door to a schoolyard and has had his study soundproofed so that he can write a book on the psychology of boys at play; and here we are ourselves rushing around getting ready to go some place where we don't want to be—struggle aplenty, but comedy. We admit it. Indeed, in certain moods we publicize it. "Comedy," we say; "you and I and life rushing for a train we don't need to catch or wool-gathering while the only bus to our Destination passes us by." In these moods we can look at ourselves—even at ourselves—in the spirit of comedy. And it is easy enough to catch the same keynote of comedy when it is put upon the stage. « 2

We all have the quick response of comedy when, in Clifford Goldsmith's *What a Life*, young Henry Aldrich, "his hair neither combed nor uncombed," is uneasily present in that least alluring section of a city high school, the principal's office; hears the principal put that least welcome of inquiries, "What is your home address?" and then sees him scratching off the fateful letter to Henry's parents. We understand both Henry *and* the principal as Mr. Bradley "licks the envelope with relish" and remarks,

I wonder whether your mother won't be a trifle upset when you hand her this?
HENRY. My father will be even more upset.

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paragraph 1? (E) *What qualities do light comedy, comedy of manners, heroic comedy, and "still other comedies" have in common? How do they differ? How has the author used parallel constructions and repetition to point up these likenesses and unlikenesses? How could he have carried the parallel constructions further? Do you think he should have done so?* (F) *Why are "our neighbor," "our aunt," "our cousin," "ourselves," as here described, comic?*

MR. BRADLEY. Could you do anything else if you were in my position?

HENRY. I think I'd give myself another chance, Mr. Bradley. You don't understand my parents. Sometimes, even I don't understand them.

Comedy of course—familiar characters in a not unfamiliar situation; at some time we too have been on a spot in a principal's office, or we have known kids who have been. «3

«3 (G) *What sentence in paragraph 2 has prepared you for paragraph 3?* (H) *To what extent is the final sentence an adequate summary of the whole passage?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (I) *What radio programs which you have heard exemplify farce, what ones comedy, as O'Hara defines the terms? Can you cite examples of the types of comedy mentioned in paragraph 2?* (J) *Point out different procedures used to introduce comparisons and contrasts.* (K) *Is the passage well or badly written to clarify the idea of comedy? Discuss.* (L) *Write an explanation of the nature of tragedy, using comparisons and contrasts.*

ANALOGY. *An often successful method of explaining a difficult and unfamiliar subject is to compare it with something familiar and concrete—to use a figurative comparison rather than the literal kind of comparison used by O'Hara (p. 16). In this selection from his novel* Looking Backward, *Bellamy sets out to acquaint his readers with the social structure of the world in 1887. To do this in the abstract and in the terminology of contemporary political economists would have been to leave most readers more befuddled than ever. Shrewdly, then, Bellamy turns to a simple object, a coach, and analogically explains the world of his time in terms of it. He writes as though he were living in 2000 and looking back upon what seemed to him to be the very unhappy days of 1887.*

EDWARD BELLAMY

The stagecoach

BY WAY of attempting to give the reader some general impression of the way people lived together in those days, and especially of the relations of the rich and poor to one another, perhaps I cannot do better than to compare society as it then was to a prodigious coach which the masses of humanity were harnessed to and dragged toilsomely along a very hilly and

From *Looking Backward* by Edward Bellamy. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

sandy road. The driver was hunger, and permitted no lagging, though the pace was necessarily very slow. Despite the difficulty of drawing the coach at all along so hard a road, the top was covered with passengers who never got down, even at the steepest ascents. These seats on top were very breezy and comfortable. Well up out of the dust, their occupants could enjoy the scenery at their leisure, or critically discuss the merits of the straining team. Naturally such places were in great demand and the competition for them was keen, every one seeking as the first end in life to secure a seat on the coach for himself and to leave it to his child after him. By the rule of the coach a man could leave his seat to whom he wished, but on the other hand there were many accidents by which it might at any time be wholly lost. For all that they were so easy, the seats were very insecure, and at every sudden jolt of the coach persons were slipping out of them and falling to the ground, where they were instantly compelled to take hold of the rope and help to drag the coach on which they had before ridden so pleasantly. It was naturally regarded as a terrible misfortune to lose one's seat, and the apprehension that this might happen to them or their friends was a constant cloud upon the happiness of those who rode. « 1

But did they think only of themselves? you ask. Was not their very luxury rendered intolerable to them by comparison with the lot of their brothers and sisters in the harness, and the knowledge that their own weight added to their toil? Had they no compassion for fellow beings from whom fortune only distinguished them? Oh, yes; commiseration was frequently expressed by those who rode for those who had to pull the coach, especially when the vehicle came to a bad place in the road, as it was constantly doing, or to a particularly steep hill. At such times, the desperate straining of the team, their agonized leaping and plunging under the pitiless lashing of hunger, the many who fainted at the rope and were trampled in the mire, made a very distressing spectacle, which often called forth highly creditable displays of feeling on the top of the coach. At such times the passengers would call down encouragingly to the toilers of the rope, exhorting them to patience,

« 1 (A) *What specifically is accomplished by sentence 1? Why should Bellamy make it so obvious here that the development of his idea is to be analogical?* (B) *What are the literal references of the following details in paragraph 1: "the passengers who never got down," "the steepest ascents," "the straining team," "the rule of the coach," "accidents," the insecurity of the seats, "sudden jolts"?*

« 2 (C) *What is the relation between the first and second paragraphs? What purpose is served by the questions at the beginning of paragraph 2?* (D) *How is Bellamy's attitude indicated by his speaking of "their brothers and sisters in the harness," and "fellow beings from whom fortune only distinguished them"?* (E) *In whose opinion was the display of feeling "highly creditable"?* (F) *What are the literal references of the following details:*

and holding out hopes of possible compensation in another world for the hardness of their lot, while others contributed to buy salves and liniments for the crippled and injured. It was agreed that it was a great pity that the coach should be so hard to pull, and there was a sense of general relief when the specially bad piece of road was gotten over. This relief was not, indeed, wholly on account of the team, for there was always some danger at these bad places of a general overturn in which all would lose their seats. « 2

It must in truth be admitted that the main effect of the spectacle of the misery of the toilers at the rope was to enhance the passengers' sense of the value of their seats upon the coach, and to cause them to hold on to them more desperately than before. If the passengers could only have felt assured that neither they nor their friends would ever fall from the top, it is probable that, beyond contributing to the funds for liniments and bandages, they would have troubled themselves extremely little about those who dragged the coach. « 3

I am well aware that this will appear to the men and women of the twentieth century an incredible inhumanity, but there are two facts, both very curious, which partly explain it. In the first place, it was firmly and sincerely believed that there was no other way in which Society could get along, except the many pulled at the rope and the few rode, and not only this, but that no very radical improvement even was possible, either in the harness, the coach, the roadway, or the distribution of the toil. It had always been as it was, and it always would be so. It was a pity, but it could not be helped, and philosophy forbade wasting compassion on what was beyond remedy. « 4

The other fact is yet more curious, consisting in a singular hallucination which those on the top of the coach generally shared, that they were not exactly like their brothers and sisters who pulled at the rope, but of finer clay, in some way belonging to a higher order of beings who might justly expect to be drawn. This seems unaccountable, but, as I once rode on this very coach and shared that very hallucination, I ought to be believed. The strangest thing about the hallucination was that those who had but just climbed up from the ground, before they had outgrown the marks of the

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"bad place in the road," "salves and liniments," "general overturn"? (G) *Is the last sentence in paragraph 2 an understatement or an overstatement of the case? If so, what is the effect of the method used on the reader? Find other similar expressions in this paragraph.*

« 3 (H) *How does this paragraph answer the questions raised at the beginning of paragraph 2?*

« 4 *and* 5 (I) *What two beliefs current in the society of 1887 are described in paragraphs 4 and 5? How do these facts explain the situation pictured in the preceding paragraphs?* (J) *In terms of the analogy, what "radical improvement" might be possible?*

rope upon their hands, began to fall under its influence. As for those whose parents and grand-parents before them had been so fortunate as to keep their seats on the top, the conviction they cherished of the essential difference between their sort of humanity and the common article was absolute. The effect of such a delusion in moderating fellow feeling for the sufferings of the mass of men into a distant and philosophical compassion is obvious. To it I refer as the only extenuation I can offer for the indifference which, at the period I write of, marked my own attitude toward the misery of my brothers. « 5

« 5 (K) *How in this paragraph does Bellamy ally himself not only with the people of 1887 but with the people of the twentieth century?* (L) *How does this paragraph make the preceding descriptions more credible?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (M) *An analogical explanation often may be reduced to a "proportion" (comparable to a:b::c:d). Thus the second sentence of the passage by Hugo (p. 11) might be stated, "The road from Nivelles:the battlefield::the left stroke of a capital A: the whole capital letter A." State the main idea of the whole passage in a "proportion" by filling in the dashes in "the passengers:the straining team::------: ------."* (N) *What is the main idea of each paragraph? Account in detail for the order of the paragraphs. Point out the transitional words, phrases, and sentences.* (O) *What has been gained by treating this subject analogically rather than literally?* (P) *Bellamy says in sentence 1 that his purpose is "to give the reader some general impression of the way people lived together in those days." In short, his purpose is exposition or clarification. Would you say, however, that it is only that? Do you feel that he is arguing on one side of a controversial question? If so, what is the question and which side is he taking? Justify your answer by pointing out details from this passage.*

ANALYSIS. *In each of the following three selections, the author examines his subject (a) to distinguish its component parts and (b) to show the relationships of these parts to one another and to the subject as a whole. Technically, such a process of logical division is called analysis.*

When an author wishes to explain one idea, one process, or one object, he may partition it—to consider its parts. In explaining a typical chair, for instance, he may write about the back, then the seat, then the arms, and finally the legs. Such a treatment is completely logical when all the parts are considered and when those parts are mutually exclusive. This procedure is called "partition."

When, by contrast, an author wishes to explain a group of similar objects or ideas, he may classify them or report on a classification of them. If he is completely logical, he divides the group into subgroups according to some consistent principle. Thus Mill classed opinions as (a) those which are true, (b) those which are false, (c) those which are partly true and partly false. His method of classification was

according to one principle—truth or falsity. It satisfied other demands of logic: it was complete, and no overlapping was possible. This second type of analysis is called "classification."

At times, writers of analyses follow less rigorous procedures than those just described; that is, they use informal analysis. The completely logical analysis is to such informal analysis as a dictionary definition of a word is to a less formal explanation of its meaning. Such analysis does not attempt exhaustive partition or classification; instead, it attempts to stress the most important aspects. It should, however, be logical and complete in its own terms.

The task of the careful reader of an analysis, therefore, is to see in as much detail as possible exactly how the author arrives at and develops the divisions of his discussion.

The following selection is a portion of an article which was published in The Atlantic Monthly *on "The Shortcomings of Radio." The author is analyzing the programs provided for the entertainment of the listening public.*

LLEWELLYN WHITE

Radio doesn't entertain

TAKING THE COUNTRY as a whole, one finds that the over-all quality of the "entertainment" fare in radio leaves something to be desired. The coincidence that radio came along just as vaudeville was perishing was perhaps happier for the vaudevillians than for the rest of us. Broadway (even Hollywood, which is hardly celebrated for star turnover) has run through four "generations" of comedians during the radio lifetimes of "Amos 'n' Andy," "Fibber McGee and Molly," "Burns and Allen," "Lum 'n' Abner," Jack Benny, Fred Allen, Edgar Bergen, and Eddie Cantor, all of whom are still going strong. In radio, a Red Skelton or a Bob Hope is still "new" after half a dozen years of precisely the same routines. « 1

The effect on these veterans has been rather marked, for even the most loyal Hope or Allen or Bergen fan can tire—say, after the second or third year —of Crosby's horses, Senator Claghorn's loathing for Damyankees, and Charlie McCarthy's allowance difficulties. (To the credit of Allen and

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From "The Shortcomings of Radio," *The Atlantic Monthly*, April 1947. Reprinted by permission of *The Atlantic Monthly* and Llewellyn White.

« 1 (A) *What kind of radio entertainment is considered in paragraph 1? Does the author indicate what is wrong with this kind in this paragraph?*

« 2 (B) *How is the thought of paragraph 2 related to that of the preceding paragraph?*

Bergen be it said that they know when enough is too much and would like to get off the merry-go-round.) « 2

Except for the work of three or four pioneers like Corwin, Welles, Oboler, and MacLeish, there has been literally no radio drama worthy of the name that has not been lifted bodily from the theater. The sum of it has been piddling. Time, money, facilities, and encouragement have been begrudged these pioneers to a point where only Corwin remains hopefully in the wings, so to speak. « 3

I am no psychologist and therefore approach the mine-sown battlegrounds of women's and children's shows with some trepidation. It seems fairly obvious to me, however, that, if the majority of American women really are "helped" by vicarious excursions into divorce, adultery, and incurable disease, the psychologists who are engaged from time to time to swear to this "fact" might find better employment looking into what may be happening to the human race. And it seems equally obvious that children's shows in which unpleasant brats go unpunished by doltish parents, or in which the one mistake in an otherwise perfect crime is explained with such painstaking care as to encourage the most cautious nascent delinquent to try it with improvements, do not clarify the goals and values of society. It is just possible that the true impact of the broadcasters on these goals and values eludes the Hooper telephone girls and that it cannot even be accurately measured in box-tops or soap-chip sales. « 4

Audience-participation shows, the newest craze in radio (the formula is only five or six years old), deserve a paragraph. So far as I know, the first audience-participation show ever submitted to a broadcaster was a 1927 effort approved by a superintendent of schools and a college president as a "positive contribution to adult education." The broadcaster to whom it was first shown thought it was sufficiently entertaining to try on the public; but, as he did not feel able to finance it on a sustaining basis and could find no advertising agency that did not think him utterly mad to suggest such a thing, nothing came of it. A decade and more later, the idea bobbed up again, but with the now familiar new wrinkles: the questions and answers must under no circumstances add to the sum total of useful knowledge; they

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(C) *State specifically what fault is implied.* (D) *How many of the topics listed in paragraph 2 are still used in radio comedy? Cite other examples of the phenomenon which White has described.*

« 3 (E) *In paragraph 3 has the author begun to treat a new division of his subject? Justify your answer.* (F) *Why are Corwin, Welles, Oboler, and MacLeish considered in a separate paragraph?*

« 4 (G) *Find the two subdivisions of paragraph 4. How has the shift in topic been indicated? Should two paragraphs have been used instead of one?* (H) *Is the criticism of these shows fair?*

must be asked and answered in a setting reminiscent of the old-time vaudeville stage on amateurs' night; and the whole proceeding must be managed in such a way as to screen out the more intelligent citizens with their silly inhibitions about vulgar exhibitionism. Once again, the advertising man had turned a remarkable opportunity into a cheap sideshow. « 5

« 5 (I) *Cite examples of the sort of programs considered in this paragraph.* (J) *What preparation has there been for the words "Once again" in the final sentence?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (K) *Has the author analyzed radio entertainment according to any single principle? If so, indicate what the principle is. If not, suggest a single principle which might have been used.* (L) *Is this consideration exhaustive? Why or why not?* (M) *Find a single sentence which summarizes the main thought of the passage. Are there any digressions?* (N) *Prepare and present a similar discussion of the coverage of news on the radio.*

ANALYSIS. *The author of the following selection sees* The Reader's Digest *as a register of "the mental and spiritual climate in which many Americans are living." What, he proceeds to ask, does an analysis of* The Reader's Digest, *one of America's most popular magazines, show about that climate? He finds two curiously divergent attitudes, one mental, the other spiritual. Later he relates this "apparent inconsistency" to aspects of American life. The selection is an interesting example of informal analysis.*

LLOYD MORRIS

Why *The Reader's Digest* is popular

AFTER TWENTY YEARS of publication, Wallace made two comments on his magazine. It was, he said, dedicated to the effort "to promote a Better America, with capital letters, with a fuller life for all, and with a place for the United States of increasing influence and respect in world affairs." By preference, it treated subjects which "come within the range of interests, experience, and conversation of the average person." In the light of its wide appeal, these statements made the *Digest* seem an approximately accurate register of the mental and spiritual climate in which many Americans were living. « 1

« 1 (A) *In your own words, restate each of the two comments made by Publisher Wallace on* The Reader's Digest.

One odd conclusion about that climate was likely to occur to any attentive student of the magazine. It suggested that the average American, although mentally at home in his fast-moving environment, was spiritually adrift in it. His mind lived happily in the present, but his heart apparently yearned for the past. Why else should the *Digest*, most resolutely "inspirational" of all major periodicals, likewise be the most nostalgic in its general tone? Its "success stories," dealing with the technique of getting ahead in the realm of practical affairs, offered stimulating models for emulation. Genially, persuasively, these miniature biographies of the victorious asserted the continuing validity of traditional virtues. Ambition, self-reliance, enterprise, thrift, and hard work were shown to issue in material prosperity and happiness. If this held true, need any American fail, or be discontented? The *Digest* seldom conceded that any ground for unhappiness existed. Yet its articles dealing with what may be called "the art of living" often produced a melancholy impression. From them one inferred that, however armed with the traditional virtues, many Americans were, in fact, neither conspicuously prosperous, nor consciously happy. « 2

For the *Digest* expounded the philosophy of the stiff upper lip. It counseled the discovery of the materials of happiness in resources too often neglected: writing letters, listening to the sound of breakfast eggs frying on the stove, making new acquaintances, cultivating some hobby costing nothing. Most of all, it emphasized the spiritual rewards of material poverty. It affirmed that the happiest people were mostly poverty stricken. It extolled comparative poverty as a way of escape from the laminated multiplicities of modern American life. It declared that genuine values in living are not based on superficial things, on printed paper money or overstuffed upholstery or underslung sedans, but on something deeper, vital, spiritual. The *Digest* did not neglect the gospel of material success, so easily achieved. But it also argued, and forcefully, that spiritual success is the high compensation for material failure. « 3

Did this apparent inconsistency have its source in the circumstances of average American life? Every American craved the satisfactions of a well-gadgetted existence, and praised the merits of a simple one while trying to avoid it. He wanted to believe that the highroad to wealth was still open to all. But the assumption was one which his environment and experience made

« 2 (B) *In paragraph 2 what is the relationship between sentences 2, 3, and 4? How has the relationship been made clear?* (C) *To which—the average American's mind or his heart—are (a) the "success" stories, (b) the "art of living" articles, related? How has the author indicated the relationships?*

« 3 (D) *How, precisely, is the thought of paragraph 3 related to that of paragraph 2?* (E) *Why is the philosophy expounded here that of "the stiff upper lip"? What two embodiments of that philosophy are considered?*

increasingly dubious. Did he not need to be assured that, remaining poor, he should not feel humiliated; that, lacking the printed paper money, he could be certain of the deeper spiritual gold? A wide gulf stretched between the standards of the society in which he lived, and his personal chances of approximating them. What wonder, then, if his heart rebelled against its "laminated multiplicities"? « 4

Certainly the "Better America" projected by the *Digest*, where there would be "a fuller life for all," bore little resemblance to the actual America of the nineteen-forties: largely urban, highly industrialized, with an economy dominated by massive concentrations of capital. It looked very much more like the America affectionately remembered by those who were middle-aged: a land of prosperous small towns, kindly neighbors, independent economic units, and unlimited opportunity for the industrious—where the daily life of the average American had justified his faith that "a man's best assets are his health, a stout heart, confidence in his own integrity." Could that America be recovered, its vanished way of life reinstated? The *Digest*, in making nostalgia a vision, and memory a hope, probably spoke for the discontented hearts of a large proportion of its readers. Whatever their economic situation, they could take courage from its confident optimism, consolation from its creed of fortitude. And they could agree that "most of us can at best own only a small piece of earth, but the vast skies are ours for a glance." « 5

« 4 (F) *How does Morris believe that each element of the "apparent inconsistency" is related to American life?* (G) *What are the divisions of this paragraph? Why is their ordering helpful to the reader in following the thought?*

« 5 (H) *What does the author hold to be characteristic of modern America? Of older America? What details are antithetical? How is each America related to articles in the magazine?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (I) *What, in summary, would be Morris' explanation of the popularity of the* Digest? (J) *Do you agree or disagree with Morris' characterization of the articles in the* Digest? *With his analysis of the reasons for the appeal of the magazine?* (K) *Employing a similar technique, discuss the articles and the appeal of some other very popular magazine such as* Life *or* The Saturday Evening Post.

ANALYSIS. *This selection represents the kind of reading common in college study. It requires a somewhat different approach from that needed for, say, the Steinbeck passage on pages 7-8. Writers of textbooks try to present their ideas as clearly as possible. But they often have to compress many details into a relatively short space. So, though the reader's chief task is, as usual, to spot key ideas and to understand their relation, he must read slowly enough to grasp the significance of the individual detail, however compressed it may be.*

CHESTER R. LONGWELL
ADOLPH KNOPF
RICHARD D. FLINT

Detrital sediments

THE DETRITAL SEDIMENTS are classified, chiefly according to the size of the constituent particles, into *gravel, sand, silt,* and *mud.* « 1

Gravel is a coarse sediment consisting mainly of fragments 2 millimeters or more in diameter; commonly more or less sand is admixed. Rounded fragments ranging in diameter from 2 to 64 millimeters are known as *pebbles*; those from 64 to 256 millimeters, as *cobbles*; and those larger than 256 millimeters (10 inches), as *boulders.* The size ranges are essentially arbitrary, but are necessary for accuracy in description. « 2

The pebbles and coarser detritus in gravels are more or less round. At its source the detritus consists of irregular, angular pieces of rock bounded by joints or fracture surfaces, but as the result of impact and abrasion during transport the fragments lose their edges and corners. The farther they travel the more rounded they become. Perfectly homogeneous rock fragments become spheroidal or spherical. Fragments having planes of weakness, such as cleavage or foliation, become ovoids or flat discs. Angular and subangular fragments in gravels indicate, therefore, that they have not traveled far from where the parent rocks occur in place. « 3

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« 1 (A) *What is meant by "detrital"?* (B) *What do you expect this piece to discuss and in what order?*

« 2 (C) *What words in the first sentence of paragraph 2 connect it with paragraph 1?* (D) *What relation exists between "gravel" and the other three sediments mentioned: "pebbles," "cobbles," and "boulders"?* (E) *What type of analysis is employed in paragraph 2, classification or partition?*

« 3 *and* « 4 (F) *Do paragraphs 3 and 4 deal with all types of gravel? Answer in detail.* (G) *How many separate details are presented in paragraphs 3 and 4? How do the authors keep these paragraphs from becoming an excessively dull list of facts?*

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During their transit downstream the pebbles of the softer and less coherent rocks are the first to be reduced by abrasion and impact to the size of sand. Consequently, durable materials (such as quartz or rocks composed of quartz) and coherent, tough rocks predominate in gravel that is composed of well-rounded pebbles. On the other hand, gravel whose pebbles have not traveled far may contain less durable minerals and rocks, such as feldspar, schist, and limestone. Limestone, in fact, occurs rarely in gravels, because it is destroyed not only by abrasion but also by being readily dissolved. In the gravels of arid regions limestone fragments are common, because of the scantiness of the water supply. « 4

Sand is a detrital sediment composed of grains smaller than gravel, generally like granulated sugar in size. The range in size of sand grains has been arbitrarily set at 2 millimeters to $\frac{1}{16}$ millimeter in diameter. Like pebbles sand grains are more or less rounded. The larger grains become rounded first; but the smaller ones, because of the buffer action of the water surrounding each grain, become rounded with difficulty or not at all, as is well shown by the fact that all the grains at the mouth of the Mississippi River, despite their long transport, are angular, being below the size at which rounding by water is effective. In general, river sands are more angular than lake or marine sands. Windblown sands are the most conspicuously rounded, and in the so-called millet-seed sands, common in deserts, the grains have become perfect spheres whose mat surfaces resemble ground glass, owing to natural sandblast action. « 5

Quartz is the commonest constituent in sand, because of its chemical indestructibility and its hardness; and unless otherwise specified "sand" means quartz sand. However, rock fragments and many minerals other than quartz, such as feldspar, occur in sands; and the beaches of coral islands are in places formed of "coral sand" made up of broken bits of coral and other organic remains. « 6

Silt and *mud* are sediments composed of the very finest-grained products of erosion. *Silt* is so fine-grained that, unlike sand, it will cohere when wet. *Mud* and its principal variety, *clay*, consist of particles that are still finer than those of silt size—less than 0.002 millimeter in diameter. Hand in hand with this decrease in grain-size goes a change in the minerals that make up the argillaceous variety of mud termed clay. Quartz decreases in amount and the finely flaky minerals increase. The reason for this is that during

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« 5 (H) *In what way is the size range of sand particles more definite than that of gravel?* (I) *Why are river sands generally more angular than lake or marine sands? Windblown sands?*

« 6 (J) *What preceding sentence in this text does the first sentence in paragraph 6 amplify?*

transportation the flaky minerals, because of their easy cleavability, become comminuted to the tiniest flakelets, and on account of their great tendency to float, these flakelets are slow in settling to the bottom. They are in fact so minute that most of them cannot be certainly identified even with the most powerful microscope; consequently, in recent years the more potent method of identification by X-ray analysis is being used, and the composition of clays is thus being established. « 7

The most characteristic and supremely important technologic property of clay is its plasticity, by virtue of which it can be molded when wet into any desired shape, and will retain this shape on drying. This plasticity is caused by the content of flaky minerals and by the fact that these flakes are surrounded by films of water, which act as a lubricant. « 8

Clays, as the products of the deposition of the finest detritus, have a wide range of composition. The most characteristic components, the flaky minerals already mentioned, are mainly hydrous silicates of aluminum, but include also white mica and chlorite. These minerals are chiefly products of chemical weathering. « 9

« 7 (K) *Does the fourth sentence in paragraph 7 mean that the mineral make-up of clay is different from that of gravel? Explain your answer.* (L) *From the facts given in preceding paragraphs and in this paragraph, explain why there is little quartz in clay.*

« 8 *and* « 9 (M) *What are the chief characteristics of clay?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (N) *What is the meaning of the following words:* foliation, argillaceous, comminuted, technologic? (O) *Identify the following and give as many characteristics of each as you can:* gravel, pebbles, cobbles, boulders, sand, silt, mud, clay. (P) *What are the main parts of this selection? Do the parts overlap? What is the basis for division of the parts? Explain the use of the word "chiefly" in the first sentence. What is the relation of each part to the topic as a whole? What determines the order of the parts?* (Q) *How is the organization of this selection different from the organizations of the two preceding selections?* (R) *In what obvious ways does the style of this passage differ from the style of the Steinbeck selection, page 7? Can you account for these differences?*

FAMILIAR-TO-UNFAMILIAR ARRANGEMENT. *Skill of the sort which made Holmes a great teacher of anatomy in the Harvard Medical School contributed to this clear explanation of the chemical constituents of the animal body. Because he was writing for a lay audience (the subscribers to* The Atlantic Monthly*), Holmes started with something very familiar to readers comparatively untrained in science—a boiled egg. Then, by easy steps, he led them to the understanding of a hitherto unfamiliar fact—"the great fact of animal chemistry." The following excerpt is from "Talk Concerning the Human Body and Its Management."*

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

Animal chemistry

TAKE ONE of these boiled eggs, which has been ravished from a brilliant possible future, and instead of sacrificing it to a common appetite, devote it to the nobler hunger for knowledge. You know that the effect of boiling has been to harden it, and that if a little overdone it becomes quite firm in texture, the change pervading both the white and the yolk. Careful observation shows that this change takes place at about 150° of Fahrenheit's thermometer.—The substance which thus hardens or coagulates is called *albumen.* As this forms the bulk of the egg, it must be the raw material of the future chicken. There is some oil, with a little coloring matter, and there is the earthy shell, with a thin skin lining it; but all these are in small quantity compared to the albumen. You see then that an egg contains substances which may be coagulated into your breakfast by hot water, or into a chicken by the milder prolonged warmth of the mother's body. « 1

We can push the analysis further without any laboratory other than our breakfast-room. « 2

« 1 (A) *Compare for interest and organization, this rephrasing of paragraph 1: "As every schoolboy knows, a chicken comes from an egg. Let us, then, take an egg, place it in hot water, and boil it a while. If you boil the egg long enough, it will become quite firm in texture, since as soon as the water brings the egg to 150° Fahrenheit, the egg begins to harden. An egg, then, you see, can be coagulated with hot water, or if a hen warms it with her body it can become a chicken. The material which thus hardens, I may inform you at this time, is albumen—the material which is the bulk of the egg. In addition to the albumen, the egg contains a relatively small amount of coloring matter, a thin lining, and a shell."*

« 2 (B) *What justification is there for making paragraph 2 a single sentence?*

At the larger end of the egg, as you may have noticed on breaking it, is a small space containing nothing but air, a mixture of *oxygen* and *nitrogen*, as you know. If you use a silver spoon in eating an egg, it becomes discolored, as you may have observed, which is one of the familiar effects of *sulphur*. It is this which gives a neglected egg its peculiar aggressive atmospheric effects. Heat the whole contents of the shell, or, for convenience, a small portion of them, gently for a while, and you will have left nothing but a thin scale, representing only a small fraction of the original weight of the contents before drying. That which has been driven off is water, as you may easily see by letting the steam condense on a cold surface. But water, as you may remember, consists of oxygen and *hydrogen*. Now lay this dried scale on the shovel and burn it until it turns black. What you have on the shovel is animal charcoal or *carbon*. If you burn this black crust to ashes, a chemist will, on examining these ashes, find for you small quantities of various salts, containing *phosphorus*, *chlorine*, *potash*, *soda*, *magnesia*, in various combinations, and a little *iron*. You can burn the egg-shell and see for yourself that it becomes changed into *lime*, the heat driving off the carbonic acid which made it a carbonate.

Oxygen	Nitrogen	Iron	Magnesia
Hydrogen	Sulphur	Potash	Phosphorus
Carbon	Lime	Soda	Chlorine

This is the list of simple elements to be found in an egg. You have detected six of them by your fireside chemistry; the others must be in very small quantity, as they are all contained in the pinch of ashes which remains after you have burned all that is combustible in your egg. « 3

Now this egg is going, or rather was going, to become a chicken; that is, an animal with flesh and blood and bones, with a brain and nerves, with eyes ready to see and ears ready to hear, with organs all ready to go to work, and a voice ready to be heard the moment it is let out of its shell. The elements of the egg have been separated and recombined, but nothing has been added to them except what may have passed through the shell. Just these twelve elements are to be found in the chicken, no more, no less. « 4

« 3 (C) *Is there any logical reason for introducing the elements in the order given in paragraph 3? If so, what is it?* (D) *Why does Holmes not state that these elements exist in eggs and let it go at that? Wouldn't the readers of* The Atlantic *have taken his word? What effect does the experimental proof have upon your attitude?*

« 4 (E) *Paragraph 4 is an expansion of what sentence in paragraph 1? What is the purpose of paragraph 4?* (F) *In the last sentence of paragraph 4, Holmes says that only twelve elements are to be found in the chicken. Has he demonstrated that no more elements exist?*

Just these same twelve elements, with the merest traces of two or three other substances, make up the human body. *Expende Hannibalem;* weigh the great general, the great thinker, his frame also may be resolved into a breath of air, a wave of water, a charred cinder, a fragment of lime-salts, and a few grains of mineral and saline matter which the earth has lent him, all easily reducible to the material forms enumerated in this brief catalogue. « 5

All these simple substances which make up the egg, the chicken, the human body, are found in the air, the water, or the earth. All living things borrow their whole bodies from inanimate matter, directly or indirectly. But of the simple substances found in nature, not more than a quarter, or something less than that, are found in the most complex living body. The forty-five or fifty others have no business in our organization. Thus we must have iron in our blood, but we must not have lead in it, or we shall be liable to colic and palsy. Gold and silver are very well in our pockets, but have no place in our system. Most of us have seen one or more unfortunates whose skins were permanently stained of a dark bluish tint in consequence of the prolonged use of a preparation of silver which has often been prescribed for the cure of epilepsy. « 6

This, then, is the great fact of animal chemistry; a few simple substances, borrowed from the surrounding elements, give us the albumen and oil and other constituents of the egg, and arranging themselves differently during the process of incubation, form all the tissues of the animal body. « 7

« 5 (G) *What assumption about the relation of human bodies and eggs must be true if paragraph 5 is to follow from paragraph 4?* (H) *What is the meaning of "Expende Hannibalem"? What clues toward meaning are offered by the words themselves? What clues are in the context? Why, in terms of the thought, should "the great thinker" be mentioned after "the great general"?*

« 6 (I) *What is gained by waiting until paragraph 6 to tell about the elements which are not found in the human body?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (J) *What is the great fact of animal chemistry?* (K) *How is this fact reached from the consideration of a boiled egg? Give the steps.* (L) *What words and phrases in this selection would be unlikely to appear in a technical article on the same subject?*

IMPRESSIONISTIC PRESENTATION. *The following passage, unlike the ones you have encountered so far in this section, is concerned not so much with the arrangement of materials as with the selection of details. Sometimes an author of factual prose wishes to use a sentence, a paragraph, or a group of paragraphs to convey a single impression to his readers. The wise author selects and presents a group of details each of which contributes to that single impression. Longfellow does this in an imaginative passage when he writes:*

The day is cold, and dark, and dreary;
It rains, and the wind is never weary;
The vine still clings to the mouldering wall,
But at every gust the dead leaves fall,
And the day is dark and dreary.

The reader discovers that all details set forth by the poet convey the impression of a gloomy day. Similarly, a reader notes that an author shocked by and bent on conveying, say, the devastating effects of poverty sets down detail after detail about penurious living conditions in the slums; or that a writer impressed by the benefits of country life and therefore urging people to live in the country usually records only those details which show that rural life is joyful. In the following passage from American Notes, *notice how admirably the details are chosen to emphasize Dickens' impression of the dismal and wretched dullness of travel along the Ohio River—a river which is thought of as "The Beautiful Ohio," by many Americans.*

CHARLES DICKENS

Travel on the Ohio River

THE ARRANGEMENTS of the boat were like those of "The Messenger," and the passengers were of the same order of people. We fed at the same times, on the same kind of viands, in the same dull manner, and with the same observances. The company appeared to be oppressed by the same tremendous concealments, and had as little capacity of enjoyment or lightheartedness. I never in my life did see such listless, heavy dulness as brooded over these meals: the very recollection of it weighs me down, and makes me, for the moment, wretched. Reading and writing on my knee, in our little cabin, I really dreaded the coming of the hour that summoned

« 1 (A) *What is the effect of the repetition throughout the first three sentences of "same"?* (B) *Why, in spite of the fact that the travelers did many things, does Dickens in paragraph 1 tell us almost exclusively about their behavior at mealtime?* (C) *What other*

us to table; and was as glad to escape from it again, as if it had been a penance or a punishment. Healthy cheerfulness and good spirits forming a part of the banquet, I could soak my crusts in the fountain with Le Sage's strolling player, and revel in their glad enjoyment: but sitting down with so many fellow-animals to ward off thirst and hunger as a business; to empty, each creature, his Yahoo's trough as quickly as he can, and then slink sullenly away; to have these social sacraments stripped of everything but the mere greedy satisfaction of the natural cravings; goes so against the grain with me, that I seriously believe the recollection of these funeral feasts will be a waking nightmare to me all my life. « 1

There was some relief in this boat, too, which there had not been in the other, for the captain (a blunt good-natured fellow) had his handsome wife with him, who was disposed to be lively and agreeable, as were a few other lady-passengers who had their seats about us at the same end of the table. But nothing could have made head against the depressing influence of the general body. There was a magnetism of dulness in them which would have beaten down the most facetious companion that the earth ever knew. A jest would have been a crime, and a smile would have faded into a grinning horror. Such deadly leaden people; such systematic plodding weary insupportable heaviness; such a mass of animated indigestion in respect of all that was genial, jovial, frank, social, or hearty; never, sure, was brought together elsewhere since the world began. « 2

Nor was the scenery, as we approached the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, at all inspiriting in its influence. The trees were stunted in their growth; the banks were low and flat; the settlements and log cabins fewer in number; their inhabitants more wan and wretched than any we had encountered yet. No songs of birds were in the air, no pleasant scents, no moving lights and shadows from swift passing clouds. Hour after hour, the changeless glare of the hot, unwinking sky, shone upon the same monotonous objects. Hour after hour, the river rolled along, as wearily and slowly as the time itself. « 3

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impressions besides that of dullness do you get of Dickens' fellow passengers? Explain. (D) *What does Dickens mean by "Le Sage's strolling player" and the "Yahoo's trough"?*

« 2 (E) *State the idea of paragraph 2 in a sentence of your own. How does your summary vindicate (a) the use of the word "too" in the opening sentence, (b) the introduction of "lively and agreeable" ladies, in a passage which is supposed to show that the company was dull?* (F) *Is there anything incongruous about the sentence beginning "There was a magnetism of dulness"?* (G) *In the last sentence of paragraph 2, justify, in terms of the impression, (a) all the adjectives, (b) the structure of the sentence.*

« 3 (H) *To what new topic does the author turn in paragraph 3?*

« 3 *and* « 4 (I) *How are the details in paragraphs 3 and 4 different from those in*

At length, upon the morning of the third day, we arrived at a spot so much more desolate than any we had yet beheld, that the forlornest places we had passed, were, in comparison with it, full of interest. At the junction of the two rivers, on ground so flat and low and marshy, that at certain seasons of the year it is inundated to the house-tops, lies a breeding-place of fever, ague, and death; vaunted in England as a mine of Golden Hope, and speculated in, on the faith of monstrous representations, to many people's ruin. A dismal swamp on which the half-built houses rot away: cleared here and there for the space of a few yards; and teeming, then, with rank unwholesome vegetation, in whose baleful shade the wretched wanderers who are tempted hither, droop, and die, and lay their bones; the hateful Mississippi circling and eddying before it, and turning off upon its southern course a slimy monster hideous to behold; a hotbed of disease, an ugly sepulchre, a grave uncheered by any gleam of promise: a place without one single quality, in earth or air or water, to commend it: such is this dismal Cairo. «4

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paragraphs 1 and 2? (J) *How is each of the many descriptive adjectives relevant to the conveying of the author's impression?*

«4 (K) *In what sense is paragraph 4 a climactic one? Indicate how each of the following contributes to the thought and feeling of the paragraph: (a) the description of the marsh, (b) the details about the falsity of British advertisements of Cairo, (c) the figures of speech employed in telling about the Mississippi River.*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (L) *What specific, factual details does Dickens give you about his journey on the Ohio?* (M) *What seems to be Dickens' reaction to the people and the scenery he describes: sympathy, boredom, resentment, disgust, curiosity? Explain your answer by pointing out details in the passage.* (N) *Point out and justify the repetition of words and phrases throughout the passage. Make a list of favorable or neutral adjectives that Dickens uses in the description of his trip.* (O) *Upon what principle or principles has the material in this passage been organized? Do you find the arrangement more or less formal than those in preceding selections? Explain your answer.*

DEFINITION. *Those who write dictionaries have devised a simple but logical system of definition which they employ whenever possible. This consists first of placing the object to be defined in a class of objects, and second of showing how it differs from all other objects in that class. "Democracy is government by the people." Here, "democracy" is placed in the class of governments, and differentiated from all other governments by the phrase "by the people."*

But dictionary definitions, though helpful, are often not sufficiently illuminating. Writers of extended definitions frequently find it useful to utilize, in addition to the logical system of the dictionary, various expository methods such as those discussed in preceding pages. Extended definitions are necessary particularly in the instance of the familiar but distressingly vague terms which refer to ideals or to institutions, words like "truth," "beauty," "Americanism," "fascism," and "communism." To Carl Becker, "democracy" is such a word. Consequently he finds it necessary to elaborate upon the dictionary definition. In doing so, he shows what democracy means in the light of history.

CARL BECKER

Democracy

DEMOCRACY, like liberty or science or progress, is a word with which we are all so familiar that we rarely take the trouble to ask what we mean by it. It is a term, as the devotees of semantics say, which has no "referent"—there is no precise or palpable thing or object which we all think of when the word is pronounced. On the contrary, it is a word which connotes different things to different people, a kind of conceptual Gladstone bag which, with a little manipulation, can be made to accommodate almost any collection of social facts we may wish to carry about in it. In it we can as easily pack a dictatorship as any other form of government. We have only to stretch the concept to include any form of government supported by a majority of the people, for whatever reasons and by whatever means of

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From *Modern Democracy* by Carl Becker. Reprinted by permission of the Yale University Press.

« 1 (A) *How does Becker make it plain in sentence 1 that he is about to define "democracy"? What is gained by mentioning "liberty," "science," and "progress"?* (B) *Does sentence 2 elaborate upon an idea which is stated or one that is implied in sentence 1? What serves as transition between the two sentences? Why is a dash used in the second? What is meant by "semantics," "referent," and "palpable"?* (C) *The phrase "on the contrary" indicates that sentences 2 and 3 contain opposing ideas. What are they? What is meant by "conceptual Gladstone bag"? How many of the following sentences in paragraph 1 are particularizations of the idea expressed in sentence 3?* (D) *In the last sentence*

expressing assent, and before we know it the empire of Napoleon, the Soviet regime of Stalin, and the fascist systems of Mussolini and Hitler are all safely in the bag. But if this is what we mean by democracy, then virtually all forms of government are democratic, since virtually all governments, except in times of revolution, rest upon the explicit or implicit consent of the people. In order to discuss democracy intelligently it will be necessary, therefore, to define it, to attach to the word a sufficiently precise meaning to avoid the confusion which is not infrequently the chief result of such discussions. « 1

All human institutions, we are told, have their ideal forms laid away in heaven, and we do not need to be told that the actual institutions conform but indifferently to these ideal counterparts. It would be possible then to define democracy either in terms of the ideal or in terms of the real form—to define it as government of the people, by the people, for the people; or to define it as government of the people, by the politicians, for whatever pressure groups can get their interests taken care of. But as a historian I am naturally disposed to be satisfied with the meaning which, in the history of politics, men have commonly attributed to the word—a meaning, needless to say, which derives partly from the experience and partly from the aspirations of mankind. So regarded, the term democracy refers primarily to a form of government by the many as opposed to government by the one—government by the people as opposed to government by a tyrant, a dictator, or an absolute monarch. This is the most general meaning of the word as men have commonly understood it. « 2

In this antithesis there are, however, certain implications, always tacitly understood, which give a more precise meaning to the term. Peisistratus, for example, was supported by a majority of the people, but his government was never regarded as a democracy for all that. Caesar's power derived from a popular mandate, conveyed through established republican forms, but that did not make his government any the less a dictatorship. Napoleon called his government a democratic empire, but no one, least of all Napoleon himself, doubted that he had destroyed the last vestiges of the democratic republic. Since the Greeks first used the term, the essential test of democratic government has always been this: the source of political authority must be and remain in the people and not in the ruler. A democratic govern-

of paragraph 1, the word "therefore" indicates a causal relationship. What is the cause and where is it presented? What is the effect and where does it appear?

« 2 (E) *How many definitions of "democracy" do you find in paragraph 2 which correspond in form to the dictionary definition? Point out the class and differentiate in each. Show how the last of these definitions serves as a climax for all that precedes and as a basis for all that follows.*

« 3 (F) *To what antithesis is Becker referring in sentence 1 of paragraph 3? What are*

ment has always meant one in which the citizens, or a sufficient number of them to represent more or less effectively the common will, freely act from time to time, and according to established forms, to appoint or recall the magistrates and to enact or revoke the laws by which the community is governed. This I take to be the meaning which history has impressed upon the term democracy as a form of government. «3

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the "certain implications" mentioned there? Where are they stated? Did the governments of Peisistratus, Caesar, and Napoleon exemplify these implications or the opposite?

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (G) *Go back over the selection and trace the main steps by which Becker takes you from a definition of "democracy" which is hopelessly vague to the relatively specific concept of the last few sentences.*

Techniques of argument

ARGUMENT appears in many forms: political talks, sermons, editorials, some college lectures, documentary films, advertising, indeed any spoken or written discourse on a controversial question. At its best, argument is the attempt of a sincere person to have others believe what he thinks is true or to have others do what he thinks is good.

Although it has many identifying characteristics, argument is not to be sharply set off from explanation or exposition. An understanding of expository techniques is essential for the careful reading of most arguments, and a knowledge of argumentative techniques is helpful in analyzing many pieces of exposition. Whatever fundamental distinction there is between the two types lies in the author's basic purpose. If this purpose is to clarify, the result is exposition; if it is to influence belief or action, the result is argument. As you will see, therefore, what follows in this section relates intimately to the preceding discussion of exposition.

There are several elements present in an argument that you as a careful reader must watch out for. The first is the point that is being argued, the unifying idea, called also the *conclusion* or *proposition*. If this unifying idea is designed to make you believe something, it is called a *proposition of fact*; if it is designed to make you do something, it is called a *proposition of policy*. You can see the difference in these two examples:

Proposition of fact: Senator Widgett has a splendid record as a public servant.

Proposition of policy: Vote at the next election for Senator Widgett.

Second are the points of disagreement, or *issues*. The *specific issues*, of

course, vary with the argument, but ordinarily they fall into such general fields as the political, the economic, the social, the legal, the religious, the scientific, and the military. For instance, the proposition of fact, "Senator Widgett has a splendid record as a public servant," might involve such specific issues as the following: "Did Senator Widgett vote for tax reduction?" "Did he work for slum clearance?" "Did he support the bill for the increase of federal aid to education?" When the argument is in favor of a proposition of policy, these specific issues are frequently assembled under broader issues, ones which are so common that they have come to be called *stock issues.* Here are the most common stock issues stated in the form of questions:

Is there a need for a change?

Is the proposal workable?

Do the advantages outweigh the disadvantages?

Is the proposal better than other proposals?

As a reader, therefore, you are unlikely to have a clear understanding of an argument, especially an argument over policy, until you are aware of the stock issues (e.g., is the proposal workable?) and the specific issues (e.g., is the sale of homecoming badges on the city streets legal?).

In addition to a recognition of the proposition and the issues, careful reading of arguments requires critical examination of two other elements, the *methods of reasoning* and the *emotional appeals.* Roughly, these compose the logic and the psychology of argument. Each of these is dealt with in some detail on the pages immediately following in order that you may observe some of the basic ways in which people reason and in which they formulate their appeals. The problems are isolated in these selections for the purpose of close analysis, but in the typical argument the writer or speaker combines as many ways of reasoning and as many appeals to the emotion as he thinks necessary to achieve his objective.

At first the reading of arguments may seem like a slow and arduous process. Actually this need not be so. After some practice there is no reason why you should not read argument as easily as you read exposition, *provided you read with a purpose.* That purpose is to discover the writer's main proposition, his major issues, his lines of reasoning, and his emotional appeals. Only by so doing will you increase your speed and your ability for critical comprehension.

The logic of argument

ARGUMENT BASED ON DETAILS. *An argument based on details is one in which the writer reaches his conclusion or proposition only after a careful consideration of the relevant circumstances. In its pure form this is inductive reasoning (reasoning from particulars to generalizations) and is inevitably in support of a proposition of fact. Indeed, there is no difference between this kind of argument and exposition except that the question being considered is more obviously controversial. In reading such arguments you should be careful to distinguish between the method of reasoning and the order of presentation. An author may state his proposition first even though from the standpoint of logic it is a conclusion to be drawn only after a study of the facts.*

"The Marginal Man," printed below, is an argument based on details. It is an excerpt taken from the beginning of Chapter VI of Carey McWilliams' book entitled A Mask for Privilege. *The author served for four years as Commissioner of Immigration and Housing in California, where he had the opportunity to study minority-group problems.*

CAREY McWILLIAMS

The marginal man

THE FORMS of discrimination traced in the preceding chapter are essentially reflections of a basic reality—the anomalous position that Jews occupy in the American economy. In itself this position constitutes the best evidence of a strong underlying pattern of anti-Semitism in the United States. Similarly the best proof of the mythical character of the anti-Semitic ideology is to be found in an examination of the position which Jews occupy in our economy. For the notion that Jews dominate or control the American economy is one of the greatest myths of our time. « 1

The quickest way to define the position that Jews occupy in the American economy is to mark off the fields in which Jewish participation is nonexistent or of negligible importance. This of course constitutes a reversal of the anti-

« 1 (A) *What is the author doing in the first two sentences?* (B) *Of what importance is the third sentence to the selection as a whole?*

« 2 (C) *What is to be said for the author's technique of defining the Jewish question?*

Semite's technique, for he always starts by defining the areas in which Jews play a prominent part. A brief examination of the *Fortune* survey (*Jews in America*, 1936) will indicate, graphically enough, those sectors of the economy in which Jewish participation is of negligible importance. « 2

Contrary to the ancient anti-Semitic myth, Jews are a minor influence in banking and finance. Of the 420 listed directors of the 19 members of the New York Clearing House in 1933, only 33 were Jews. "There are practically no Jewish employees of any kind," reads the *Fortune* survey, "in the largest commercial banks—and this in spite of the fact that many of their customers are Jews." While a few Jewish firms, such as Kuhn, Loeb & Company, J. & W. Seligman & Company, and Speyer & Company, have a well-established reputation in the investment banking field, Jewish influence in investment banking in the United States is wholly insignificant. Neither in commercial nor in investment banking are Jews an important factor. If the national rather than the New York scene were examined in detail, it could be demonstrated that Jewish influence in American banking is even less significant than the *Fortune* survey indicates. For the exclusion of Jews from the boards of local banks, outside New York, is a fact that can be readily verified by the most cursory investigation. In related fields of finance, such as insurance, the Jewish influence is virtually nonexistent. "The absence of Jews in the insurance business," to quote from the survey, "is noteworthy." Generally speaking, Jews participate in the insurance business almost exclusively as salesmen catering to a preponderantly Jewish clientele. Nor do Jews figure, in any significant manner, in the various stock exchanges across the country. « 3

If the Jewish participation in banking and finance is negligible, it is virtually nonexistent in heavy industry. There is not a single sector of the heavy industry front in which their influence amounts to dominance or control or in which it can even be regarded as significant. A minor exception might be noted in the scrap-iron and steel business, an outgrowth of the junk business, which has been a direct contribution of Jewish immigrants to the American economy. The scrap-iron business, it should be emphasized, is wholly peripheral to heavy industry in general. Similarly the waste-products industry, including nonferrous scrap metal, paper, cotton rags, wool rag,

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Against it? (D) *Are you willing to accept a* Fortune *survey as a reliable authority? Give specific reasons based on your study of the magazine. Does your answer to this have any bearing on whether you are willing to accept McWilliams' argument?* (E) *What is to be said for and against this use of 1936 facts in a 1948 book? Can you find more recent surveys or discussions that bear out or change the facts given here?*

« 3 (F) *What good expository techniques are followed in this paragraph?* (G) *Point out statistical proof, citation of authority, and generalization.*

and rubber, is largely Jewish controlled. But, here again, control of waste products is a symbol of exclusion rather than a badge of influence. « 4

The following significant industries are all "equally non-Jewish," according to the *Fortune* survey, namely, coal, auto, rubber, chemical, shipping, transportation, shipbuilding, petroleum, aviation, and railroading. The important private utility field, including light and power, telephone and telegraph, is most emphatically non-Jewish; and the same can be said of lumber, agriculture, mining, dairy farming, food processing, and the manufacture of heavy machinery. So far as heavy industry is concerned, one can best summarize the findings of the *Fortune* survey by saying that Jews are the ragpickers of American industry, the collectors of waste, the processors of scrap iron. « 5

Jewish participation in the "light industries" field is largely restricted to the distribution end. In the manufacture of wool, the Jewish influence is slight (from 5 to 10 per cent of production); somewhat higher in silk, it is only 5 per cent in cotton. In the distribution of wool, silk, and cotton products, however, Jews do play a significant role. Their participation in the important meat-packing industry is limited, as one might expect, to the production of the kosher meat pack. In a few industries, such as the manufacture of furniture, they are an important factor. But in most of the light industries, their numerical significance is often greater than the volume of production which they actually control. In the manufacture of boots and shoes, for example, they are a 40 per cent minority in numbers but control only 29 per cent of the volume of production. In the entire light industries field, the principal exception to the generally non-Jewish pattern of control is to be found in the clothing industry, which, like the scrap business, might properly be regarded as a Jewish contribution to American industry. « 6

While Jews play an important role in the buying of tobacco and control some of the large cigar manufacturing concerns, their participation in the mass production of cigarettes, which is emphatically big business, is negligible. Controlling about half the large distilling concerns, Jews fall far short of outright control of the liquor industry. In the general merchandizing field, the important fact to be noted is that, with the exception of apparel goods, Jews have been rigidly excluded from the various chain-store enter-

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« 4 (H) *Does the author strengthen or weaken his case by mentioning the exceptions?*

« 5 (I) *Do you think the last sentence is a legitimate inference?*

« 6 (J) *What are "light industries"?* (K) *What precisely in this context is meant by such expressions as "significant role," "important factor," "Jewish contribution to American industry"?* (L) *How might an anti-Semite present the percentages on boot and shoe manufacture? What implication would he try to leave?*

« 7 (M) *Does the second sentence, as stated, strengthen your confidence in the*

prises. Jewish participation is virtually nonexistent both in the drugstore chains and in the food distributing chains. Woolworth and Kress, for example, are 95 per cent non-Jewish. In the mail-order business, Montgomery-Ward and Sears, Roebuck are both non-Jewish, although it was Julius Rosenwald who built the latter company into the great institution it is today. While some of the department stores in New York and in the East are controlled by Jews, their influence in this field diminishes as one moves west. « 7

Again contrary to popular belief, Jewish participation in publishing is not significant. In the magazine field, the *New Yorker*, the *American Mercury*, and *Esquire* are about the only magazines that are controlled by Jews. The measure of Jewish influence in this field might, therefore, be estimated by comparing the circulation of these publications with the circulation of such magazines as the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, the *Woman's Home Companion*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Look*, and *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*. Jewish participation in the advertising field is about 1 to 3 per cent of the total. However, they are a fairly important factor in the book publishing business and in the job-and-trade printing industry in the larger cities; and, in two new industries, radio and motion pictures, their influence is significant. "The whole picture of industry, business, and amusements," concludes the *Fortune* survey, "may be summed up by repeating that while there are certain industries which Jews dominate and certain industries in which Jewish participation is considerable, there are also vast industrial fields, generally reckoned as the most typical of our civilization, in which they play a part so inconsiderable as not to count in the total picture." « 8

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author's objectivity? (N) *Why is the material of the second half of the paragraph more likely to be convincing than that in the first half?*

« 8 (O) *What do the* Fortune *editors mean by "most typical of our civilization"? Do you agree?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (P) *What is the main proposition?* (Q) *What specific issues are suggested by the various paragraphs? Formulate them in questions.*

ARGUMENT BASED ON A GENERAL PRINCIPLE. *In the preceding selection, the author, concerned with proving the truth of a generalization about which his audience may have some doubts, gives many particular cases to substantiate the generalization. In the following three selections, each author, concerned with justifying a particular case, tries to prove that the particularization is one instance of a generalization with which the audience agrees. In the previous selection, the author reasoned from particulars to generals; in the following selections, the authors reason from generals to particulars. The previous type of argument is called induction; the type of argument used in the three following selections is called deduction. Rarely is either type found in isolation, and in the next three selections you will find that some of the generalizations are reached inductively even though the overall argument is deductive. One useful tip to remember is that whenever an author appeals for action, he is reasoning deductively.*

The Declaration of Independence *gives us an opportunity to see a deductive argument set forth in formal fashion. After the introductory remarks, the line of reasoning goes like this:*

(1) Any form of government which proves destructive of the people's unalienable rights should be thrown off.

(2) The government of the King of Great Britain has proved destructive of the colonists' unalienable rights.

(3) The government of the King of Great Britain should be thrown off.

In a three-sentence simplification like this of a deductive argument, the first statement is called the major premise; the second, the minor premise; and the third, the conclusion. A premise is an assumption; the simplification itself is called a syllogism. Notice that in the Declaration *the minor premise has been reached inductively.*

THOMAS JEFFERSON

The Declaration of Independence

WHEN IN THE COURSE of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle

« 1 (A) *What must have been the reaction of most men to the ideas set forth in this paragraph? What does your answer prove about the strategic value of beginning with such a paragraph?*

them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. « 1

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world. « 2

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. « 3

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. « 4

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. « 5

« 2 (B) *What is a "self-evident" truth?* (C) *What contemporary interpretations are there of the phrase "all men are created equal"?* (D) *Show how the paragraph moves from more general to more specific standards.* (E) *What is the antecedent for "this" in the last sentence of paragraph 2?*

« 3-31 (F) *What premise of the argument do these assertions support? Why are comparable assertions not given in support of the other premise?*

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. « 6

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. « 7

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within. « 8

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws of Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. « 9

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers. « 10

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. « 11

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance. « 12

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures. « 13

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. « 14

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: « 15

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: « 16

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: « 17

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: « 18

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent: « 19

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury: « 20

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offenses: « 21

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: « 22

« 16 (G) *What do all the items introduced by "for" depend upon syntactically?*

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments: « 23

For suspending our own Legislature, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. « 24

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us. « 25

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. « 26

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & Perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation. « 27

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands. « 28

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. « 29

In every stage of these Oppressions we have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. « 30

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends. « 31

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all

« 31 (H) *Can you see any logic to the order of the assertions in paragraphs 3-31?*

political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor. « 32

« 32 (I) *What is the function of this paragraph?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (J) *What specific issues are raised?* (K) *History is sometimes defined as a record of past events. What parts of the* Declaration *contain such a record? How does the* Declaration *differ in purpose from a record of past events?* (L) *What is the explanation for the assertion made in the introduction to this selection that whenever an author appeals for action he is reasoning deductively?*

ARGUMENT BASED ON A GENERAL PRINCIPLE. *Seldom do deductive arguments appear in so formal an arrangement as they do in the* Declaration. *Modern authors present them much more informally, so informally indeed that it is only on rare occasions that both premises are made explicit. To recapture the author's line of reasoning, you as the careful reader must work back from the conclusion (which in any good argument will be clear) to the assumptions on which it is based. Only by so doing can you discover whether the conclusion is a valid one.*

The following editorial from Life *is a characteristically modern and popular presentation of a deductive argument. Formalized, the argument runs in this fashion:*

Any spokesmen who have a strong moral case should remember it and never neglect to assert it.

Our spokesmen have a strong moral case.

Our spokesmen should remember it and never neglect to assert it.

Notice how much more informal this becomes in the actual presentation.

Life EDITORIAL

A moral case for the West

A CHARACTERISTIC of our times is that we do not admire ourselves. In greater or less degree practically all articulate citizens of the Western community share a conviction of collective guilt, an overpowering suspicion

From *Life*, September 27, 1948. Reprinted by permission of *Life*.

that all men are somehow engaged in an inescapable conspiracy against Man. The shadow of The Bomb, the unceasing tensions and the all-too-possible consequences of the struggle between the free world and the Soviet Union darken our lives and inhibit our capacity to believe in ourselves. "And do you like the human race? No, not much," Aldous Huxley sings in *Ape and Essence,* and the best that he could bring himself to say in a recent article for LIFE was that Progress is not necessarily fatal for mankind. Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, urging in the same issue of LIFE that the peoples of the West be firm in their cause, was constrained to confess grave weaknesses in the moral content of that cause. In a recent speech he summed up all of our self-doubt and its very serious effects in this sentence: "There is so little health in the whole of our modern civilization that one cannot find the island of order from which to proceed against disorder." « 1

The uses of power

LIFE herewith invites Mr. Huxley, Dr. Niebuhr and all of its readers to take heart. Let us consider the evidence that Western man has done more in the three postwar years than ever before in so brief a span to build a moral "island of order." It is not complete, it is not impregnable and it is beset on all sides by the immoral purposes and power of the Soviet Union. But, in Dr. Niebuhr's terminology, it is already an island of which we can be proud. It is one from which we can extend a strong defense and, if need be, launch a powerful attack. In other words there *is* a moral case-in-being for the West and one of which we need not be ashamed. « 2

What is the paramount fact of the postwar years? It is not that the world is again involved in a struggle for power. Nor is it that the Soviet Union has both sharpened and complicated the current struggle by continuing and broadening the totalitarian assault on the spirit and freedom of moral man. The paramount fact is that governments and men of the free world have begun as never before to practice the moral use of power. The measure of our own confusion, and of our seemingly limitless ability to obscure the good in ourselves, is that it should be necessary at this point to justify so obvious a statement. It stands proved on the postwar record. « 3

Great Britain, the perfidious Albion of history, acted without perfidy and with a high morality in her gift of freedom to India last year. To hold that this was merely an act of unpleasant necessity, a reflection of weakness rather than a use of power, is to misunderstand the nature and meaning of that revolutionary episode in the unmoral story of empires. Great Britain obvi-

« 1 (A) *What is to be gained by suggesting the opposite point of view at the beginning of an argument?*

« 2 (B) *Who all are included by the first word "Life"?*

« 3 (C) *What is the specific function of this paragraph?*

ously had to leave India sometime, but not just then. Her departure, as and when she took it, was the result of a deliberate and conscious exercise of the national will and awakened morality of imperial Britain. It was conceived in detail by little Mr. Attlee, the uninspiring but for once inspired Prime Minister of Britain, and executed with impressive grace and skill by his viceregal servant, the Earl Mountbatten. It was neither accident nor aberration: in the same period and for similar reasons Great Britain made an outright (and perhaps premature) gift of independence to Burma and with a new system of federation set Malaya on the way to freedom. The moral and political significance of these manifestations of goodwill was largely overlooked by other Westerners. But not by the Russians, whose Asiatic Communists are now trying desperately to wreck the new regimes of Burma and Malaya and may in time be expected to show their heads in India and Pakistan. « 4

The uses of morality

Perhaps the beneficiaries of Marshall aid tire of hearing that it is a unique example of one nation's generosity to other nations. But so it is, and it is also a unique expression of national morality. American self-interest enters, of course, but that altogether healthy fact should not obscure the bigger fact that the U.S. millions who supported Marshall aid and thereby made it possible were under no absolute compulsion to do so. What moved them, beneath the more obvious pressures of the world conflict, was a profound and unprecedented sense of national duty and obligation to other peoples of the free world and an essentially moral determination to preserve and enlarge that world. In the long balance of history this demonstration of man's expanding capacity for moral action may some day outweigh the economic and political aspects which seem all-important to most of us now. « 5

Milestone though it is on the slow moral climb of mankind, the aid program is not the highest expression of postwar Western morality. The supreme evidence that a new moral quality has entered the world has to do with that source and focus of most of our doubt and confusion, the atom. « 6

After all, we have yet to prove that in the atomic bomb we have created an instrument of certain and inclusive suicide. What we, the American people, have proved is that we are morally capable of foregoing the power which the atomic bomb has placed in our shaky hands. We, at the moment the sole possessors of this power, have proved our moral capacity by offering to give The Bomb away. Let it never be forgotten, as David Lilienthal points

« 4 (D) *What is the reference to "perfidious Albion"?*

« 5 (E) *What generalization do the details in this and the preceding paragraph support?*

« 6 (F) *What is the function of this paragraph?*

out, that the U.S. government has offered and still offers to give the atomic bomb into secure international keeping. The one government which has made and still makes this step impossible is the Soviet government. Never before in all the history of power has the possessor of final and exclusive power proposed—yes, begged—to surrender that power for the common good of the world. It is a bit early to assume that the atomic bomb is an instrument of good, in the moral or any other sense. But we needlessly offend the human spirit and hurt our cause when we blindly assume that only harm has come of it and refuse to heed the immense fact that it has prompted an unequaled act of public morality. « 7

The troubled soul

The failure to internationalize the atomic bomb is part and parcel of the general failure to date of the U.N. And, as in the case of The Bomb, we tend to let the failure of the U.N. blind us to the huge moral fact that a United Nations did come into being and continues to exist. However successfully the Soviet Union and its Communist satellites have distorted them, the driving purposes and stated ends of that great union of nations were inherently moral. They still are, and the U.N., feeble though it is, represents a tremendous forward movement in world morality. Furthermore, precisely because Soviet Russia and her Communist allies have isolated themselves from the U.N.'s true and better purposes, the U.N. is peculiarly a reflection of Western morality. « 8

This is not to say that the soul of Western man is untroubled and without blemish, or that the Huxleys and Niebuhrs of our time should cease to inquire *What shall we do to be saved?* Self-examination is still very much in order, and in the end result it should strengthen rather than weaken the moral case for the West. But the search of the Western soul need not stimulate, as it too often seems to do, a general and obsessive conclusion that we of the West have nothing good and positive to say for ourselves. In the realm of public impulse and action there is already a strong case to be made. Our spokesmen should remember it and never neglect to assert it. « 9

« 7 (G) *Why discuss the atomic bomb after discussing India and the Marshall plan?*

« 8 (H) *What is gained by mentioning the U.N. last?*

« 9 (I) *Why mention Huxley and Niebuhr again?* (J) *Is there any reason for holding the proposition until the very last sentence?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (K) *What issues are involved here?* (L) *Is there any advantage in not stating the major premise?* (M) *If you were anxious to refute this argument, at what points would you attack it?* (N) *You can practice ferreting out premises in relatively simple statements. What, for example, are the assumptions implied in statements like these:* (1) *I know the story is true, for I read it in the New York* Times. (2) *Since he never attended college, he cannot be very well educated.* (3) *He's a very charitable man. He will make a good judge.*

ARGUMENT BASED ON A GENERAL PRINCIPLE. *Implicit in almost any piece of advertising is an argument proceeding from a general principle. As in the preceding editorial, the elements of the argument, except for the conclusion, are likely to be not too obvious. An excellent test of your ability to read arguments, therefore, is to see whether or not you can spot the premises upon which an advertisement is based. The famous slogan "99 and 44/100 per cent pure," for example, is clearly grounded on the major premise that any product which is pure is desirable and, hence, worth buying.*

In the following piece of advertising the argument reaches the following conclusion:

Cincinnati is good for raising a family or business.

The advertiser hopes, then, that you will go on to reason in this fashion:

Any city which is good for raising a family or business is one to which I should move.

Cincinnati is good for raising a family or business. (The conclusion above)

Cincinnati is a city to which I should move.

THE CINCINNATI GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANY

Closer to America . . . farther from Red Square

STAND on Fountain Square, serene, tree-bordered "island" in bustling, downtown Cincinnati . . . *and you're closer to the exact center of U. S. population than you'd be in any other metropolitan city.* «1

That's important, of course, to anyone looking for a location for a factory or office. So is the fact that Cincinnati is the natural gateway to the South . . . that it's practically *next door* to steel, coal and other basic materials. «2

But the *distances* that interest businessmen most, today, are measured not in miles, but in people. «3

And it's *people* that make Cincinnati so close to America . . . so far from Red Square. «4

The people, here, are solid, stable. Their roots go deep in American bedrock. They've grown up in America. They believe in America. They believe

From an advertisement in *Time*, November 29, 1948. Reprinted by permission of The Cincinnati Gas & Electric Company.

«1 (A) *Is there any strategic value in starting with the minor rather than the major premise of the argument?*

«2 *and* «3 (B) *What function is served by these details?*

«4 (C) *Why introduce "Red Square"?*

in it too deeply to be fooled by soap box ranters and glib promisers of something-for-nothing. « 5

And their healthy, old-fashioned respect for the American way is reflected in their attitude toward their jobs, toward each other, toward their community. « 6

It's had a lot to do with making Cincinnati the solid, busy, pleasant city it is, today. It is largely responsible for Cincinnati's being such a fine city in which to raise a family or a business. « 7

« 5 (D) *Who are the "ranters" being referred to?*

« 6 (E) *What is the "American way"?*

« 7 (F) *What is the function of this final paragraph?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (G) *State the premises and the conclusion in this argument. Which of the three elements in the formal argument is not made explicit? Can you account for its omission?* (H) *What stock issues are raised? What specific issues?* (I) *At the top of this advertisement appeared a picture of the "Historic Fountain Square in Cincinnati," showing a playing fountain, sunlight, several buses, and people leisurely walking about. How does such a picture enter into the main argument?* (J) *Study several other advertisements. Do you find that at least one element in the argument is usually suppressed? If so, which one?*

ARGUMENT BASED ON CAUSAL RELATIONS. *Essentially, an argument based on causal relations is deductive, for it is built, consciously or unconsciously, on a series of assumptions, the most general of which are that every event has its causes, and that given the same causes it is highly probable that you will get the same event. The patterns in which such arguments appear are innumerable. They vary from a simple citation of one cause for one effect to a complex analysis in which not only many causes are adduced for many effects but the effects themselves become causes for other effects. In the following excerpt notice how your understanding of the passage is dependent upon your ability to follow its causal reasoning.*

NORMAN COUSINS

Is America obsolete?

IT IS A CURIOUS phenomenon of nature that only two species practice the art of war—men and ants, both of which, significantly, maintain complex social organizations. This does not mean that only men and ants engage in

From the book *Modern Man Is Obsolete*, an expansion of an editorial in *The Saturday Review of Literature*.

the murder of their own kind. Many animals of the same species kill each other, but only men and ants have practiced the science of organized destruction, employing their massed numbers in violent combat and relying on strategy and tactics to meet developing situations or to capitalize on the weaknesses in the strategy and tactics of the other side. The longest continuous war ever fought between men lasted thirty years. The longest ant war ever recorded lasted six-and-a-half weeks, or whatever the corresponding units would be in ant reckoning. « 1

While all entomologists are agreed that war is instinctive with ants, it is encouraging to note that not all anthropologists and biologists are agreed that war is instinctive with men. Those who lean on experience, of course, find everything in man's history to indicate that war is locked up within his nature. But a broader and more generous, certainly more philosophical, view is held by those scientists who claim that the evidence of a war instinct in men is incomplete and misleading, and that man *does* have within him the power of abolishing war. Julian Huxley, the English biologist, draws a sharp distinction between human nature and the *expression* of human nature. Thus war is not a reflection but an expression of man's nature. Moreover, the expression may change, as the factors which lead to war may change. "In man, as in ants, war in any serious sense is bound up with the existence of accumulations of property to fight about. . . . As for human nature, it contains no specific war instinct, as does the nature of harvester ants. There is in man's makeup a general aggressive tendency, but this, like all other human urges, is not a specific and unvarying instinct; it can be molded into the most varied forms." « 2

But even if this gives us a reassuring answer to the question—is war inevitable because of man's nature?—it still leaves unanswered the question concerning the causes leading up to war. The expression of man's nature will continue to be warlike if the same conditions are continued that have provoked warlike expressions in him in the past. And since man's survival on earth is now absolutely dependent on his ability to avoid a new war, he is faced with the so-far insoluble problem of eliminating those causes. « 3

In the most primitive sense, war in man is an expression of his extreme competitive impulses. Like everything else in nature, he has had to fight for existence; but the battle against other animals, once won, gave way in his evolution to battle against his own kind. Darwin called it natural selection;

« 1 (A) *What is gained by introducing this comparison? Give at least two answers.*

« 2 (B) *What causal relation does the author reject? On what grounds does he reject it?* (C) *What cause for war does Huxley discover? How does Cousins use this cause in his own argument?*

« 3 (D) *Given the present cause-effect relation, does the author think it better to remove the causes or treat the effects?*

Spencer called it the survival of the fittest; and its most overstretched interpretation is to be found in *Mein Kampf*, with its naked glorification of brute force and the complete worship of might makes right. In the political and national sense, it has been the attempt of the "have-nots" to take from the "haves," or the attempt of the "haves" to add further to their lot at the expense of the "have-nots." Not always was property at stake; comparative advantages were measured in terms of power, and in terms of tribal or national superiority. The good luck of one nation became the hard luck of another. The good fortune of the Western powers in obtaining "concessions" in China at the turn of the century was the ill fortune of the Chinese. The power that Germany stripped from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and France at the beginning of World War II she added to her own. « 4

What does it matter, then, if war is not in the nature of man so long as man continues through the expression of his nature to be a viciously competitive animal? The effect is the same, and therefore the result must be as conclusive —war being the effect, and complete obliteration of the human species being the ultimate result. « 5

If this reasoning is correct, then modern man is obsolete, a self-made anachronism becoming more incongruous by the minute. He has exalted change in everything but himself. He has leaped centuries ahead in inventing a new world to live in, but he knows little or nothing about his own part in that world. He has surrounded and confounded himself with gaps—gaps between revolutionary technology and evolutionary man, between cosmic gadgets and human wisdom, between intellect and conscience. The struggle between science and morals that Henry Thomas Buckle foresaw a century ago has been all but won by science. « 6

Given ample time, man might be expected eventually to span those gaps normally; but by his own hand, he is destroying even time. Decision and execution in the modern world are becoming virtually synchronous. Thus, whatever gaps man has to span he will have to span immediately. « 7

This involves both biology and will. If he lacks the actual and potential biological equipment to build those bridges, then the birth certificate of the atomic age is in reality a *memento mori*. But even if he possesses the necessary biological equipment, he must still make the decision which says that he

« 4 (E) *What does this paragraph do for our understanding of the cause-effect relation previously established?*

« 5 (F) *What common element is found in the cause-effect relation previously rejected and the one accepted?*

« 6 (G) *Summarize the causes that in Cousins' opinion are responsible for modern man's obsolescence.*

« 7 (H) *What are the causes for the lack of time? How does the lack of time, being first an effect, become a cause?*

« 8 (I) *If desired effects are to be achieved, what will the causes have to be?*

is to apply himself to the challenge. Capability without decision is inaction and inconsequence. « 8

Man is left, then, with a crisis in decision. The main test before him involves his *will* to change rather than his *ability* to change. That he is capable of change is certain. For there is no more mutable or adaptable animal in the world. We have seen him migrate from one extreme clime to another. We have seen him step out of backward societies and join advanced groups within the space of a single generation. This is not to imply that the changes were necessarily always for the better; only that change was and is possible. But change requires stimulus; and mankind today need look no further for stimulus than its own desire to stay alive. The critical power of change, says Spengler, is directly linked to the survival drive. Once the instinct for survival is stimulated, the basic condition for change can be met. « 9

That is why the power of total destruction as potentially represented by modern science must be dramatized and kept in the forefront of public opinion. The full dimensions of the peril must be seen and recognized. Only then will man realize that the first order of business is the question of continued existence. Only then will he be prepared to make the decisions necessary to assure that survival. « 10

« 9 (J) *What cause or causes can produce change in man through the exercise of his will?*

« 10 (K) *What sentence here is the proposition for the entire selection?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (L) *Is the main proposition one of fact or policy?* (M) *What are the specific issues involved? What general issues?* (N) *Outline the chain of reasoning by which the author reaches his main proposition. In doing so, try working back from the proposition.* (O) *Do you see any weaknesses in Mr. Cousins' argument?*

ARGUMENT BY ANALOGY: THE LITERAL ANALOGY. *Reasoning by analogy is one of the most common methods of winning belief or action. In practice it takes two forms: the literal analogy and the figurative.*

The literal analogy is sometimes called the logical analogy, at other times simply argument by comparison. Seen in its broadest aspect this method is deductive since back of it is the general assumption that two things alike in many important aspects are alike in some other aspect. For example, since both Cleveland and Chicago are large, industrial, Midwestern, lakeside cities, and since Cleveland has found it useful to have a central railroad terminal, it might be argued that Chicago would find it useful also. Confronting anyone reading such an argument would be the special task of determining whether the comparison is a valid one. Possibly some important element may tend to invalidate the whole argument—like the fact that the trunk lines terminate in Chicago rather than going right through as they do in Cleveland.

The following selection is the fourth and final section of an article in which the author argues for a Missouri Valley Authority. Instead of focusing his whole attention on the Missouri Valley and its needs, he shows how similar needs have been met by the Tennessee Valley Authority. The conclusion can then be an appeal for policies which have already proved their worth in another, and what the author hopes the reader will believe a similar, situation.

ROBERT LASCH

Why an MVA?

IF POWER can be developed, the land irrigated, floods controlled, and the channel made navigable by the Reclamation Bureau and the Corps of Engineers under the joint plan, then why an MVA? Why did the President, in approving the joint plan, call it "only a beginning . . . a basic engineering plan to be developed and administered by a Missouri Valley Authority"? Why did Senator Murray of Montana, author of legislation to establish an MVA, hold up Congressional action until he had obtained pledges of early consideration for his broader scheme? « 1

The technical achievements of TVA have tended to obscure its achievements in the realm of government. As Chairman David Lilienthal has said, TVA "is not dams or power or land rehabilitation . . . but essentially a way of getting things done. The real issue in the proposed MVA is the relation between the people in their everyday life in the Missouri valley, and the Federal government in Washington." « 2

Visitors to the Tennessee valley have been astonished not only by the grandeur of the Norris, Cherokee, Douglas, and other dams, but by the spirit of local possessiveness that surrounds the Authority and its operations. Here is no remote Federal bureau doing things *for* the valley, but an essentially autonomous agency *of* and *in* the valley, rooted there, responsive to its needs and aspirations, fusing a variety of initiatives into a social drive peculiarly expressive of the region itself. « 3

TVA has bridged the gulf between the ordinary citizen and the Federal authority. Deriving its power from Congress, functioning as an arm of the

From "Why an MVA?" *The Atlantic Monthly*, May 1945. Reprinted by permission of *The Atlantic Monthly* and Robert Lasch.

« 1 (A) *What differences can you surmise might exist between an MVA and a joint plan sponsored by the Reclamation Bureau and the Corps of Engineers?*

« 2 (B) *Who is David Lilienthal?*

« 3 (C) *What is meant by "an essentially autonomous agency"? Does the following paragraph help you define it?*

Executive, it owes its strength to neither of these but to the intimate relationship it has woven with the people, their local institutions, their governments, their economic life. « 4

Senator McKellar collided with this new principle of government when he tried, in the time-honored way, to establish political suzerainty over TVA. The people of the valley rose up in their wrath to smite him. More than the non-political guarantee which had been written into the TVA act was vindicated; the test of strength demonstrated both the Authority's freedom from Washington interference and its reliance upon popular support and acceptance at home. A North Dakota editor, studying TVA for lessons which might be adapted to the Missouri basin, asked twenty-one editors of the region: "In your judgment, would the people of the valley support the TVA now if they were to vote on the subject?" All the editors replied, "Yes." « 5

Early fears that a regional agency might over-shadow and encroach upon the states have vanished. In an area where the states' rights doctrine blooms brightest, the seven governors agree, in the words of Prentice Cooper of Tennessee, that "the rights of this state and its citizens, far from having been restricted or violated, have been enlarged through enriched opportunities." Governor Arnall of Georgia says: "The only complaint I have regarding TVA is that its influence has not permeated this state further." « 6

The tax problem created by large holdings of public property has been satisfactorily adjusted; last year the Authority paid to states and counties, in lieu of taxes, two million dollars, a sum greater than the ad valorem taxes formerly assessed on TVA property. « 7

Instead of competing with the states and counties, the Authority has lured them into helping with its work, and so has strengthened and dignified them. Scores of contracts embody working relations with state extension services, agricultural colleges, public schools, and other local agencies in carrying out coöperative programs of public health, demonstration farms, library service, recreation, research. Federal agencies have likewise been drawn into active coöperation, while at the same time the Authority has adjusted its own activities to avoid overlapping. TVA and the Department of Agriculture work together on soil conservation: the Bureau of Mines conducts TVA's researches in ceramic clay; the Corps of Engineers operates the navigation locks in TVA dams. « 8

Basic to the valley authority idea, then, is the conception of a coördinating agency which not only performs certain functions related to the control of the river, but focuses the efforts of many agencies and many interests in the

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« 5 (D) *Who is Senator McKellar?*

« 6-8 (E) *What is the importance of paragraphs 6, 7, and 8 for anyone arguing for an MVA?*

development of all regional resources and opportunities. TVA early abandoned any attempt to impose from above a rigid plan for the social and economic life of the valley. Instead it undertook to inspire the people themselves, to release their energies and develop self-help. The result is a regional entity with a life and a spirit of its own, which sees the valley at close range, understands it, and approaches its problems as parts of an interconnected whole. « 9

The development of river transport inevitably gives such an authority leadership in the South's fight for lower freight rates; the generation of cheap power involves a search for industrial opportunities that will provide jobs and income for the people. The authority, serving as a switchboard through which pass the energies of towns, counties, states, and Federal agencies, can accomplish more than the sum of the individual agencies. The proof is clear in the economic statistics of the Tennessee valley, which show, in every particular, greater gains than national averages during the ten years of TVA's existence. « 10

Nowhere is the integrating function of the valley authority more significant than in the performance of its primary task: the conservation and maximum use of water resources. A watershed may contain many diverse economic and social elements, but the river itself, with its tributaries, is a single whole. To divide it into two sovereignties, as the Bureau of Reclamation and the Army Engineers propose with respect to the Missouri, is asking for trouble. « 11

Irrigators upstream and navigators downstream have signed an uneasy truce along the Missouri, but latent conflicts still lurk just beneath the surface. The Bureau of Reclamation, for example, has its heart set on opening a new irrigation frontier in the Souris basin of North Dakota, which lies outside the Missouri watershed. Lower-river interests bitterly oppose transferring any Missouri River water over the divide. Which shall prevail? Neither the states nor Federal agencies with competitive interests can settle this conflict, and the many other day-to-day differences that are sure to arise, so efficiently as can a regional authority, equally representative of and responsible to all the interests of the valley. « 12

Congress has embarked on the task of taming the Missouri and has specified that the river shall be developed and controlled as a whole. Unless the great lesson of TVA is to be thrown to the winds, the next logical step is to match technical integration in the construction of dams and powerhouses with the unifying force of a regional authority. An agency "clothed with

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« 9 (F) *Explain in your own words the distinction suggested by the second and third sentences of paragraph 9.*

« 11 (G) *Show precisely how the author gets the subject back to the MVA.*

« 12 *and* « 13 (H) *What are being compared in the last two paragraphs? Why is such a comparison appropriate for a conclusion?*

the power of government but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise"; expressive of the national interest, but serving it in a fresh and vital way; applying centralized power through decentralized administration—this is the best possible armor with which the people of the Great Plains can confront the next drought. « 13

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (I) *What is the main proposition?* (J) *What are the issues—stock and specific?* (K) *In what specific ways does the comparison make the argument effective?* (L) *If you were interested in refuting this argument, how would you go about it?*

ARGUMENT BY ANALOGY: THE FIGURATIVE ANALOGY. *This kind of analogy is also called an informative analogy since its purpose is usually to win belief or action by reducing a complicated subject to a relatively simple and presumably more understandable metaphor. Often these metaphors are no longer than a phrase, a sentence, or a paragraph. Occasionally, however, they take over the whole burden of the argument and become allegories, such as Bunyan's* Pilgrim's Progress *and Swift's "A Modest Proposal." The following excerpt is from a speech given by Wendell Willkie while he was campaigning for the Republican nomination for the presidency in 1940. In it you can see how a complicated situation is characteristically reduced to a simple one. What results is not logical proof but something often more understandable and more appealing to the emotions than the proof itself. In this fact lies the effectiveness—and the deceptiveness—of figurative analogies.*

WENDELL WILLKIE

The danger lies within ourselves

THE DANGER from Hitler or from any other aggressor lies in the fact that those forces are at work in the United States. The danger from Hitler lies within ourselves. We must be careful not to overrate the so-called "fifth column" either. Imagine a happy family—imagine this country as a happy family. If this family is truly knit together in bonds of love and understanding and honesty, a stranger cannot enter it, he cannot disrupt it. But if the members of a family nourish secret hates and fears against one another; if they look upon each other suspiciously and doubt each other's words, then a stranger can easily set one against the other and destroy the family. So long

From an address given by Wendell Willkie before the Cooperative Employment Council at St. Louis, Missouri, June 6, 1940. Reprinted by permission of Mrs. Wendell Willkie.

as we think of this country as broken down into hostile groups—capital, labor, employed, unemployed, economic royalists, workers, and all those other artificial distinctions, each fighting against the other for the little wealth that remains—we shall have unemployment and unrest and we shall lie exposed to the aggression of Hitler or someone else. But if we can once again recognize that principle of unity which enabled us to build America, then there can be no question concerning our ability to defend America. « I

« I (A) *What is the "fifth column"?* (B) *Why does the author say "artificial distinctions"?* (C) *What is Mr. Willkie's proposition?* (D) *What is the issue?* (E) *What are the points of comparison in the analogy?* (F) *In what specific ways is the argument more effective because of the analogy?*

ARGUMENT BY AUTHORITY. *This is a type of argument that you encounter daily. In advertising it appears as testimonials, in law courts as testimony by witnesses and as citation from previous judgments, in general argumentative discourses as quotations from authorities presumed to be qualified and unprejudiced. The selection given here is an excerpt from one of the early arguments for the United Nations. Notice how the authors by the use of carefully chosen quotations convey the impression, wholly justified in this case, that the governments of the United States, Great Britain, and Canada are behind the new venture.*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE
WORLD CITIZENS ASSOCIATION

The world at the crossroads

THUS WE HAVE the San Francisco Charter. This charter lays the foundations and sets up the framework by which the nations of the world may work together for a better future free from the tragedy of war, free from fear of aggressors, and free to build a new world on a pattern which recognizes the essential dignity of man and the possibility of progress for all mankind in a lasting era of peace. « I

« I (A) *What was the San Francisco Charter? What arguments in its behalf are presented here?*

These great objectives cannot be attained at once. Time, effort, struggle, tolerance, utmost determination and an abiding faith will be necessary. We shall advance step by step. The road is long. We must fight for peace as we have fought against the aggressors. « 2

Franklin Roosevelt expressed clearly the aspirations and the deep resolve of thinking men and women everywhere in the world when in October 1944 he said:

> For this generation must act not only for itself, but as a trustee for all those who fell in the last war—a part of their mission unfulfilled.
>
> It must act also for all who have paid the supreme sacrifice in this war—lest their mission, too, be betrayed.
>
> And finally it must act for the generations to come—that must be granted a heritage of peace. « 3

To the timid, to those who say the time to go forward is not now, to those who have little faith, it must be said: The world is now at the crossroads. The world must choose *now* whether its future is to be one of stable progress or whether it shall be chaos. This moment in the history of the world is indeed the last chance. It is difficult to imagine the state of physical and moral exhaustion, loss of courage, loss of ideals, and utter chaos that would follow another world war. The tragedy of this last war surpasses anything the world has known before. Yet the nations have had the vitality and the courage to make a supreme effort to organize the world for peace. The Charter is the result not of force and intimidation but of free discussion. It is a monument to the dead and inspiration and hope for the living. « 4

To those who say that the outlook is hopeless because of the failure of the League of Nations, the answer is that at the time of the organization of the League the world was not ready to organize its international life in an effective way. The dangers from aggression, the cost of defense, the horrors and destructiveness of war had not so clearly been brought home to the peoples of all nations. Out of the tragic results of this war there has come to a war-weary world a yearning for peace deeper than ever before. Nations and peoples are determined now to organize the world for peace. Never before has international thinking been so centered on the achievement of a world organization for security and progress. « 5

As President Truman has said:

> With ever-increasing brutality and destruction, modern warfare, if unchecked, would ultimately crush all civilization. We still have a choice between alternatives:

« 3 (B) *What generalization of the authors does the quotation from Roosevelt support?*

« 4 *and* « 5 (C) *What persons are the authors trying to win over in paragraphs 4 and 5? Do you think these paragraphs alone would establish this claim? Explain your answer.*

the continuation of international chaos, or the establishment of a world organization for the enforcement of peace. « 6

As Anthony Eden has said:

All the causes, and there were many, which made some form of international machinery desirable after the last war make it indispensable today. In the last hundred years, and especially in the last twenty-five years, the discoveries of science have served to enrich and sometimes to endanger the world but above all to contract it. We have entered an age, and we would do well to remember it, when no national barrier, whether mountain or ocean, can guarantee security against the new weapons which science has placed at the disposal of mankind.

This hard fact is now biting deeply into the consciousness of all peoples, and they are, as I believe, ready to accept its implications and to shoulder the responsibilities which it imposes. Therein . . . lies the main difference between today and the lost opportunities at the end of the last world war. Today this fact is patent to all. No one will dispute it. « 7

Now the whole world realizes the import of the words of Prime Minister King, the head of the government of Canada, where peaceful relations have been maintained with the United States for more than a hundred years:

. . . It is for each nation to remember that over all nations is humanity. It is for all to remember that justice is the common concern of mankind. The years of war have surely taught the supreme lesson that men and nations should not be made to serve selfish national ends, whether those ends be isolated self-defense or world domination. Nations everywhere must unite to save and to serve humanity. « 8

To those who say that the San Francisco Charter does not go far enough, that it should be stronger and more powerful, the answer is that time will tell how much more strength and power should be given to the international organization. What we have now is a fair foundation upon which, stone by stone, the necessary and needful structure for the peace of the world may be built. Experience is the greatest teacher. Changes, amendments and additions to the Charter will come in the future and will grow out of the wisdom of the years. « 9

« 6 (D) *What generalization of the authors does the Truman quotation support?*

« 7 (E) *What generalization of the authors does the Eden quotation support?*

« 8 (F) *What generalization of the authors does the King quotation support?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (G) *What is the main proposition of the argument?* (H) *What issues are suggested?* (I) *What is the special reason for citing each of the men named?* (J) *Is argument by authority an inductive or a deductive method of reasoning? Explain your answer.* (K) *In arguing against someone who uses this method what would you attempt to do?*

REFUTATION. *Much argument is really refutation, or counterargument. The author disagrees with someone and sets out to show that the other person's argument is not worthy of belief or action. There are several ways of doing this: (1) by showing that the opponent is biased or unqualified, (2) by demonstrating that his facts are inaccurate, (3) by showing that his authorities and sources of information are prejudiced or inadequate, (4) by demonstrating that his reasoning is fallacious, (5) by offering strong counterarguments, (6) by employing various psychologically effective devices, such as reducing the opponent's argument to absurdity or reducing it to two alternatives neither of which is acceptable.*

One of the cleverest men at refutation was Tom Paine, the great propagandist for the American cause during the Revolutionary War. In the following excerpt from his Common Sense, *a rousing essay written in 1776 and probably the most significant document of the Revolution aside from the* Declaration *itself, Paine takes up some of the arguments of the Tories and disposes of them in highly dramatic fashion.*

THOMAS PAINE

Nothing can be more fallacious . . .

I HAVE HEARD it asserted by some, that as America has flourished under her former connection with Great Britain, the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness, and will always have the same effect.—Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument.—We may as well assert that because a child has thrived upon milk, that it is never to have meat, or that the first twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next twenty. But even this is admitting more than is true; for I answer roundly, that America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power taken any notice of her. The commerce by which she hath enriched herself are the necessaries of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe. « 1

« 1 (A) *Why is it useful to summarize the opponents' view before refuting it?* (B) *State the opponents' argument in syllogistic terms.* (C) *What is the value of making a summary dispassionate?* (D) *Formulate the analogies used here. Are they just ones?* (E) *Give a good reason for not letting the refutation rest on analogies alone.*

But she has protected us, say some. That she hath engrossed us is true, and defended the Continent at our expense as well as her own, is admitted; and she would have defended Turkey from the same motive, *viz.* for the sake of trade and dominion. « 2

Alas! we have been long led away by ancient prejudices and made large sacrifices to superstition. We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering, that her motive was *interest* not *attachment*; and that she did not protect us from *our enemies* on *our account*, but from her enemies on her own account, from those who had no quarrel with us on any *other account*, and who will always be our enemies on the *same account*. Let Britain waive her pretensions to the continent, or the continent throw off the dependance, and we should be at peace with France and Spain were they at war with Britain. The miseries of Hanover's last war ought to warn us against connections. « 3

It hath lately been asserted in Parliament, that the colonies have no relation to each other but through the parent country, i.e. that Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, and so on for the rest, are sister colonies by the way of England; this is certainly a very roundabout way of proving relationship, but it is the nearest and only true way of proving enmity (or enemyship, if I may so call it). France and Spain never were, nor perhaps ever will be, our enemies as *Americans*, but as our being the *subjects of Great Britain*. « 4

But Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families; wherefore, the assertion, if true, turns to her reproach; but it happens not to be true, or only partly so, and the phrase *parent* or *mother country* hath been jesuitically adopted by the King and his parasites, with a low papistical design of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakness of our minds. Europe, and not England, is the parent country of America. This new world hath been the asylum for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from *every part* of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cruelty of the monster; and it is so far true of England, that the same tyranny which drove the first emigrants from home, pursues their descendants still. « 5

« 2 (F) *What is the distinction between "protect" and "engross"?*

« 3 (G) *Put the substance of this argument into your own words.* (H) *What proposition or propositions is Paine refuting?*

« 4 (I) *Show in your own words how Paine uses his opponents' argument against them.*

« 5 (J) *Paine might have pointed out that the "parent-country" argument of the Tories was simply a metaphor and not proof of anything. Instead, what does he choose to do with it? What is gained by this method of handling it?*

In this extensive quarter of the globe, we forget the narrow limits of three hundred and sixty miles (the extent of England) and carry our friendship on a larger scale; we claim brotherhood with every European Christian, and triumph in the generosity of the sentiment. « 6

« 6 (K) *What is gained by making this a separate paragraph?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (L) *From this brief selection, what do you suppose was the main proposition of* Common Sense? (M) *What general issues are raised in this selection?* (N) *Four arguments are refuted here. State and show in each case the precise method of refutation employed.* (O) *If you had been a Tory at this time, how could you have dealt with Paine's refutation?*

The psychology of argument

Knowing that listeners or readers are not swayed by logic alone, speakers and writers usually supplement their logical argument with appeals which they hope will be psychologically effective. Some of these appeals to feeling are illustrated in the remaining selections in Part One.

THE SPEAKER. *During Winston Churchill's visit to these shores in December 1941, the month of our entry into World War II, he addressed the House of Representatives and the Senate. His speech was broadcast to the nation and was transmitted abroad by short wave. The opening three paragraphs of the speech are here presented. At the start of paragraph 4, Churchill said, "I should like to say, first of all. . . ." Why, one might ask, should the speaker spend three paragraphs saying what he does not want to say "first of all"? The answer is, of course, that at the start of his speech, Churchill established a friendly relationship between himself and his audience. Writers on persuasion by psychological means have long realized the importance of such a step. When, for instance, John Quincy Adams spoke at Harvard in 1806, he considered the orator's winning "the esteem and confidence of his hearers." He noticed that there are "three qualities in the character of an*

orator which may naturally and essentially affect the success of his eloquence"; and he listed these traits in terms which, though old-fashioned, still make sense, as "an honest heart, a sound understanding, and a disposition characterized by benevolence, modesty and confidence." What an orator did, he suggested, was acquaint his listeners with the fact that he possessed these admirable traits. Churchill, in these paragraphs, was introducing himself to his listeners—helping them discover that he was the sort of person they might trust and respect. By the technically minded, this establishment of the character and reputation of the speaker or writer is called "ethical proof."

WINSTON CHURCHILL

Here I am, an Englishman

I FEEL greatly honored that you should have thus invited me to enter the United States Senate chamber and address the representatives of both branches of Congress. The fact that my American forebears have for so many generations played their part in the life of the United States and that here I am, an Englishman, welcomed in your midst, makes this experience one of the most moving and thrilling in my life, which is already long and has not been entirely uneventful. I wish indeed that my mother, whose memory I cherish across the vale of years, could have been here to see. By the way, I cannot help reflecting that if my father had been American and my mother British, instead of the other way around, I might have got here on my own. In that case, this would not have been the first time you would have heard my voice. In that case, I should not have needed any invitation, but if I had it is hardly likely that it would have been unanimous. So perhaps things are better as they are. « 1

I may confess, however, that I do not feel quite like a fish out of water in a legislative assembly where English is spoken. I am a child of the House of Commons. I was brought up in my father's house to believe in democracy; trust the people, that was his message. I used to see him cheered at meetings and in the streets by crowds of workingmen 'way back in those aristocratic,

« 1 (A) *How does the first paragraph suggest that Churchill is a peculiarly appropriate symbol of the kinship between the United States and England?* (B) *Why, though it interferes with the development of the chief thought of the paragraph, does Churchill mention that he cherishes the memory of his mother "across the vale of years"?* (C) *Each of the last three sentences of paragraph 1 was followed by laughter. Why? What qualities in the make-up of the speaker do these sentences indicate?*

« 2 (D) *What details of Churchill's own background are emphasized in paragraph 2?* (E) *List words and phrases used here which would be effective emotionally and psychologically for this particular audience.*

Victorian days, when, as Disraeli said, the world was for the few and for the very few. Therefore, I have been in full harmony all my life with the tides which have flowed on both sides of the Atlantic against privilege and monopoly, and I have steered confidently towards the Gettysburg ideal of government of the people, by the people, for the people. « 2

I owe my advancement entirely to the House of Commons, whose servant I am. In my country as in yours public men are proud to be the servants of the state, and would be ashamed to be its masters. On any day, if they thought the people wanted it, the House of Commons could by a simple vote remove me from my office, but I am not worrying about it at all. As a matter of fact, I am sure they will approve very highly of my journey here, for which I obtained the King's permission, in order to meet the President of the United States, and to arrange with him for all that mapping out of our military plans and for all those intimate meetings of the high officers of the armed services in both countries which are indispensable to the successful prosecution of the war. « 3

« 3 (F) *Why may the third paragraph be said to complete the task of introducing the speaker, in a friendly guise, to the audience?* (G) *Why was the phrase "but I am not worrying about it at all" of psychological value? Why the phrase "for which I obtained the King's permission"?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (H) *Has Churchill established himself as a person with "an honest heart, sound understanding, and a disposition characterized by benevolence, modesty, and confidence"? In answering this question, consider each of these qualities separately and explain your answer by pointing to details in the whole passage.*

THE AUDIENCE. *It is hard to imagine a successful argument written or spoken without regard to the audience. If nothing else, common sense suggests to the speaker or writer that he take into account the people whom he is addressing: their basic desires for security and happiness; their love of home, country, and family; their quite human susceptibility to flattery; their high regard for the simple virtues and their dislike of hypocrisy and evil; their special affiliations, beliefs, and prejudices. By some specialists in argument, appeals to such characteristics in the audience are called "pathetic proof."*

For the reader, these emotional appeals to specific audiences are usually fairly easy to detect, especially when they occur in the introduction or in the conclusion. For example, there is no difficulty in distinguishing them in an introduction of a speech by Chester Bowles to a group from the Farmers Union:

"I am delighted to be here tonight with my friends in the Farmers Union. There is no group in America among our farmers, our workers, or our businessmen, who had a more enviable record of public service during the war period. There is no group in America which has more enlightened leadership. There is no group in America which has more to contribute in our struggle to achieve a future of peace, prosperity and plenty."

Equally apparent are the appeals in advertising: appeals to our desires for pleasure, comfort, profit, efficiency, security; our desire on the one hand to be exclusive and on the other to do what everyone else is doing.

In the following speech the appeals to the audience are made more deftly, the very deftness being a recognition of the fact that the particular audience would have been annoyed by obviousness. The Panama Canal Act of August 24, 1912, contained a provision exempting American ships from payment of tolls, and gave offense to Great Britain, which insisted that the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of November 18, 1901, was being violated. Convinced that Britain's argument was sound, President Wilson appeared before a joint session of Congress on March 5, 1914, to request repeal of this provision. His task was a difficult one, for many in Congress had voted for the Canal Act and were against any modification of it. Furthermore, swayed partly by pressure from American shippers, many felt that it was the part of good Americanism to give the advantage to American ships. Notice, then, how Wilson counters sentiments like these with appeals to other and more handsome sentiments. Through his efforts and those of Senator Root and others, strong sentiment for repeal of this provision was created, and a bill to that effect was passed and approved June 15, 1914.

WOODROW WILSON

The Panama Canal tolls

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I have come to you upon an errand which can be very briefly performed, but I beg that you will not measure its importance by the number of sentences in which I state it. No communication I have addressed to the Congress carried with it graver or more far-reaching implications as to the interest of this country, and I come now to speak upon a matter with regard to which I am charged in a peculiar degree, by the Constitution itself, with personal responsibility. « 1

I have come to ask you for the repeal of that provision of the Panama Canal Act of August 24, 1912, which exempts vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States from payment of tolls, and to urge upon you the justice, the wisdom, and the large policy of such a repeal with the utmost earnestness of which I am capable. « 2

« 1 (A) *What characteristics of the audience are taken into account by the phrases "briefly performed"? "interest of this country"? "the Constitution itself"?*

« 2 (B) *What is the point of using terms like "justice," "wisdom," and especially "the large policy"?*

In my own judgment, very fully considered and maturely formed, that exemption constitutes a mistaken economic policy from every point of view, and is, moreover, in plain contravention of the treaty with Great Britain concerning the canal concluded on November 18, 1901. But I have not come to urge upon you my personal views. I have come to state to you a fact and a situation. Whatever may be our own differences of opinion concerning this much debated measure, its meaning is not debated outside the United States. Everywhere else the language of the treaty is given but one interpretation, and that interpretation precludes the exemption I am asking you to repeal. We consented to the treaty; its language we accepted, if we did not originate it; and we are too big, too powerful, too self-respecting a nation to interpret with a too strained or refined reading the words of our own promises just because we have power enough to give us leave to read them as we please. The large thing to do is the only thing we can afford to do, a voluntary withdrawal from a position everywhere questioned and misunderstood. We ought to reverse our action without raising the question whether we were right or wrong, and so once more deserve our reputation for generosity and for the redemption of every obligation without quibble or hesitation. «3

I ask this of you in support of the foreign policy of the administration. I shall not know how to deal with other matters of even greater delicacy and nearer consequence if you do not grant it to me in ungrudging measure. «4

«3 (C) *If Wilson has not come to urge his personal views, why does he mention them?* (D) *Does Wilson recognize the fact that the majority of the Congressmen have been lawyers? Explain your answer.* (E) *What characteristic of the audience is appealed to in the part of the sentence beginning "and we are too big. . ."?* (F) *Show specifically the appeals in the last two sentences.*

«4 (G) *Why might Congressmen react favorably to the last sentence? Give at least three reasons.*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (H) *Summarize the characteristics of the Congressmen to which Wilson has appealed in this speech.* (I) *Summarize the arguments employed by Wilson. Might Congress have been influenced by the logic of these arguments alone? Why or why not?*

MODES OF ATTACK: THE ATTACK DIRECT. *Whenever an argument is directed against some opposing force, human or otherwise, the writer or speaker may tactically choose to storm the front or to slip around and attack from the rear. The difference lies between the literal statement and the ironic or indirect one.*

In the direct attack, the meaning of the words and the author's real intent coincide. If he says that he admires all Congressmen, he means just that and is not gently spoofing Congress and you. To make the attack effective, the author is likely to slant his argument heavily. This means that he is likely to select details and words that shift your sympathies sharply from one side to the other. If he wants you to like a Congressman, he calls him a "statesman"; if he wants you to dislike him, he calls him a "politician."

Few writers today are so noted for the use of the direct attack as Robert M. McCormick and his editorial staff on the Chicago Tribune. *The following editorial illustrates their technique and concerns two of their favorite targets, Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt. It was written shortly after Churchill's World War II memoirs began to appear serially and when the Atlantic Pact was being discussed.*

CHICAGO *Tribune* EDITORIAL

Churchill true to form

THE SECOND SERIES of former Prime Minister Winston Churchill's war memoirs finds Churchill running true to form. It starts off with an insult to the United States, which bailed out Britain's lost cause, and continues with assertions that Britain practically won the war all by itself. « 1

The "theme of the volume" is proclaimed to be: "How the British people held the fort alone till those who hitherto had been half blind were half ready." We are the half blind who finally became half ready, naturally. Who, either in America or in Britain, had the effrontery in 1939, when the war began, to say that the war of Britain, France, and Poland against Germany was any of America's business? Not Mr. Churchill. Not even Mr. Roosevelt. « 2

From the Chicago *Daily Tribune*, February 8, 1949. Reprinted by permission of the Chicago *Daily Tribune*.

« 1 (A) *What in the first paragraph indicates that this is a direct attack? Who is being attacked?*

« 2 (B) *What is the effect of the word "naturally"?* (C) *Is anyone besides Mr. Churchill in for a shelling?*

Who, when the Roosevelt administration's devious maneuvering in secret concert with Churchill's government finally paid off with the attack on Pearl Harbor in December, 1941, believed that America had any real reason to be concerned with the wars in Europe and Asia? The honest answer is that by then a great many deluded Americans did so believe. Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, their agents and propagandists had been tirelessly expounding that thesis for many months, and the propaganda had had a certain effect, but its effect still was limited to only a small minority of the American people. When war became an accomplished fact, there was nothing for all of the rest to do but acquiesce. « 3

In the first instalment of his new series Churchill relates that he permitted but five days to pass after becoming prime minister, altho swamped by concerns about the collapsing British and French front in Flanders, before getting in touch with Roosevelt by personal message. He started out with a modest request for 40 or 50 American destroyers, all available modern American warplanes, about all the anti-aircraft weapons we then had, a considerable amount of American steel, and requests that America indicate its moral support of Britain by sending part of the fleet to Irish ports and part to Singapore "to keep the Japanese quiet." « 4

The suggestion for lend-lease was conveyed in this initial note: "We shall go on paying dollars for as long as we can, but I should like to feel reasonably sure that when we can pay no more you will give us the stuff all the same." « 5

Roosevelt at once provided the requested aircraft, anti-aircraft weapons and ammunition, and steel. He then felt that "authorization of congress" would be required for the destroyer transfer and that the "moment was not opportune." Four months later he had changed his mind about consulting congress and regarded the time as opportune. He handed over the destroyers by executive decree in defiance of national and international law. « 6

There were 950 of these personal messages from Churchill to Roosevelt, and 800 in reply. The correspondence, according to Churchill, "played a part in my conduct of the war not less, and sometimes even more, important than my duties as defense minister." Bringing the United States into the war was, of course, the most important of Churchill's tasks, for Britain didn't

« 3 (D) *Do you find any "loaded words" (i.e., words meant to slant your sympathies) which are calculated to turn your sympathies against Churchill and Roosevelt?* (E) *What facts are given to support the generalizations about agents and propagandists?*

« 4 (F) *Does the writer make any use of sarcasm here? Explain.*

« 5 (G) *What is gained by making this sentence a paragraph by itself?*

« 6 (H) *What characteristics does the writer impute to Roosevelt? Does the wording indicate what the writer wants you to feel about these characteristics?*

have a prayer of winning on its own. He later admitted the strategy when, after Pearl Harbor, he told the house of commons that "this is what I have dreamed of, aimed at, and worked for, and now it has come to pass." « 7

There no longer can be the slightest question that Roosevelt, in his plot to betray his countrymen into this war which has turned out so tragically for America's lasting interests, was receiving his instructions from Churchill thru this correspondence, and that he gave the British prime minister unquestioning obedience. Churchill had but to command and everything at America's disposal became his. This campaign was accompanied by an incessant program of psychological warfare to browbeat the American public into acceptance of the thesis that Britain was fighting America's war. It is a thesis which Churchill still maintains as his "theme." It is a thesis that will forever be useful in whatever war Britain becomes entangled. It is a thesis which now underlies the proposed Atlantic pact. « 8

We were hooked by an expert, and he intends that we shall stay hooked. But Mr. Churchill is wrong. Americans are not the half blind. They have been rendered the totally blind by those who govern them in Britain's interests. So used are they to oft repeated lies that Mr. Churchill now has but to lead them thru a routine in which they are already letter perfect. « 9

« 7 (I) *Study this paragraph carefully for the technique involved. Does the writer leave the* impression *that Churchill worked for the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor? Does he specifically state this? Explain your answer.* (J) *Try to discover what the antecedent is for "this" in the Churchill quotation.*

« 8 (K) *What argumentative value is there in an opening like "There no longer can be the slightest question that . . ."? Why might such an opening be especially successful in a newspaper? Do you agree that "there no longer can be the slightest question"? Explain your answer. What value is there in the frequent repetition of "It is a thesis . . ."?* (L) *Can you speculate as to why the editor has not mentioned the Atlantic Pact sooner? What is the editorialist's attitude concerning this pact? How consistent is this attitude?*

« 9 (M) *Do you find any "loaded words" in this paragraph?* (N) *Show how the editor makes use of a Churchill metaphor. Do you think the metaphor sound as Churchill used it? As the editor adapts it?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (O) *What are the primary objectives of the writer?* (P) *What issues are suggested?* (Q) *What means of evoking emotion does the writer use?* (R) *What proportion of the editorial consists of generalizations? What proportion consists of factual evidence to back up these generalizations?* (S) *Do you consider the argument a just one throughout? Give reasons for your answer.* (T) *Do you find the argument effective? Give reasons for your answer.* (U) *Suggest how the same attitudes might be developed in an indirect attack.*

MODES OF ATTACK: THE ATTACK INDIRECT. *The indirect approach is the ironic: that is, the words say the opposite of the author's real intent. Irony derives from the Greek word "eiron," used to denote a type character in classical comedy. Such a character was a wise person who assumed the role of a simpleton. By extension, the term has come to apply to a discourse in which the writer, who is really wise and just, plays at being stupid and sometimes downright malicious. Such an attack makes large demands upon the writer's ingenuity, for he must say one thing and make the reader know that he means another. It makes demands of the reader, too. Some readers make fools of themselves by failing to recognize what the author is up to. In 1729, when Jonathan Swift suggested ironically in "A Modest Proposal," that the starving Irish sell their babies as choice meat, there was a roar of protest. Many readers took him literally—and completely missed the real attack on the economic system responsible for the starvation.*

In "The Revolt of Capital," Clarence Day upsets the whole history of the relation between capital and labor. As an intelligent reader, however, you almost immediately realize that no one intelligent enough to write this well can have so much misinformation as his words, taken literally, might indicate. Once you make this discovery, reading becomes something of a game in piecing together what Day apparently says and what he really means. The ultimate result may be that you remember his argument far more clearly than if he had stated it directly.

CLARENCE DAY

The revolt of capital

ONCE UPON A TIME all the large corporations were controlled by labor. The whole system was exactly the opposite of what it is now. It was labor that elected the directors, and the officers too. Capital had no representatives at all in the management. « 1

It was a curious period. Think of capital having no say, even about its own rates! When a concern like the United Great Steel Co. was in need of more capital, the labor man who was at the head of it, President Albert H. Hairy, went out and hired what he wanted on the best terms he could. Sometimes these terms seemed cruelly low to the capitalists, but whenever one of them grumbled he was paid off at once, and his place was soon taken

« 1 (A) *By what means may you learn immediately that this writing is not to be interpreted literally?*

by another who wasn't so uppish. This made for discipline and improved the service. «2

Under this régime—as under most others—there was often mismanagement. Those in control paid themselves too well—as those in control sometimes do. Failures and reorganizations resulted from this, which reduced the usual return to the workers and made them feel gloomy; but as these depressions threw capitalists out of employment, and thus made capital cheaper, they had their bright side. «3

The capitalists, however, grumbled more and more. Even when they were well paid and well treated they grumbled. No matter how much they got, they felt they weren't getting their dues. They knew that labor elected the management; and they knew human nature. Putting these two premises together, they drew the conclusion that labor was probably getting more than its share, and capital less. President Hairy, of the Steel Co., explained to them this couldn't be true, because the market for capital was a free and open market. He quoted a great many economic laws that proved it, and all the professors of economy said he was right. But the capitalists wouldn't believe in these laws, because they weren't on their side, nor would they read any of the volumes the professors composed. They would read only a book that an old German capitalist wrote—a radical book which turned economics all upside-down and said that capital ought to start a class war and govern the world. «4

Discontent breeds agitation. Agitation breeds professional agitators. A few unruly loud-voiced capitalists climbed up on soap-boxes and began to harangue their quiet comrades, just to stir up needless trouble. When arrested, they invoked (as they put it) the right of free speech. The labor men replied by invoking things like law and order. Everybody became morally indignant at something. The press invoked the Fathers of the Republic, Magna Charta, and Justice. Excited and bewildered by this cross-fire, the police one evening raided a Fifth avenue club, where a capitalist named M. R. Goldman was talking in an incendiary way to his friends. "All honest law-abiding capitalists will applaud this raid," said the papers. But they didn't. They began to feel persecuted. And presently some capitalists formed what they called a union. «5

It was only a small union, that first one, but it had courage. One afternoon President Hairy looked up from his desk to find four stout, red-faced capital-

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«2 (B) *What evidences of informality in style do you have in the early paragraphs? Why might this be more appropriate to the ironic approach here than a highly formal style?*

«4 (C) *What book is suggested by the last sentence? How are the real affairs reversed?* (D) *Why would such a character as Day pretends to be describe the book in this way?*

ists pushing each other nervously into his office. He asked them their business. They huskily demanded that every capitalist on that company's books be paid at least a half per cent more for his money. The president refused to treat with them except as individuals. They then called a strike. « 6

The results of this first strike were profoundly discouraging. The leaders were tried for conspiracy, those who walked out at their call were blacklisted, and the victorious labor men soon secured other capitalists in plenty, a private carload being brought over from Philadelphia at night. The labor leaders became so domineering in their triumph they refused to engage capitalists who drank or who talked of their wrongs. They began importing cheap foreign capital to supply all new needs. But these measures of oppression only increased the class feeling of capitalists and taught them to stand shoulder to shoulder in the fight for their rights. « 7

The years of warfare that followed were as obstinate as any in history. Little by little, in spite of the labor men's sneers, the enormous power of capital made itself felt. An army of unemployed capitalists marched upon Washington. The Brotherhood of Railway Bondholders, being indicted for not buying enough new bonds to move the mails, locked up every dollar they possessed and defied the Government. The Industrial Shareholders of the World, a still more rabid body, insisted on having an eight per cent law for their money. All great cities were the scenes of wild capitalist riots. Formerly indifferent citizens were alarmed and angered by seeing their quiet streets turned into Bedlam at night, with reckless old capitalists roaring through them in taxis, singing Yankee Boodle or shouting "Down with labor!" For that finally became the cry: labor must go. They still meant to use labor, somehow, they confusedly admitted, but capital and not labor must have absolute control of all industries. « 8

As the irrepressible conflict forced its way into politics, Congress made statesmanlike efforts to settle the problem. After earnest and thoughtful debate they enacted a measure which made the first Monday in September a holiday, called Capital Day. As this hoped-for cure did not accomplish much they attempted another, by adding a Secretary of Capital to the President's cabinet. Conservative people were horrified. But Congress was pushed even further. It was persuaded to prohibit employing the capital of women and children, and it ordered all Japanese capital out of the country. On one

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« 5-10 (E) *The story of what movement is really being outlined here? How accurately is the development of this movement summarized?*

« 8 (F) *What is really being referred to by the Brotherhood of Railway Bondholders? The Industrial Shareholders of the World? Yankee Boodle? What is the value of the parallelisms in these titles?*

point, however, Congress was obstinate and would not budge an inch. They wouldn't give capital full control of the railroads and mills. « 9

The capitalists themselves were obliged to realize, gradually, that this could be at best but a beautiful dream. It seemed there was one great argument against it: labor men were a unit in believing the scheme wouldn't work. How could scattered investors, who had not worked at an industry, elect—with any intelligence—the managers of it? Even liberal labor men said that the idea was preposterous. « 10

At this moment a citizen of East Braintree, Mass., stepped forward, and advocated a compromise. He said in effect:

"The cause of our present industrial turmoil is this: The rulers that govern our industries are not rightly elected. Our boards of directors may be called our industrial legislatures; they manage a most important part of our national life; but they are chosen by only one group of persons. No others can vote. If Congress were elected by a class, as our boards of directors are, this country would be constantly in a state of revolution politically, just as it is now industrially." That was his argument. « 11

"Both those who do the work and those who put in the money should rightfully be represented in these governing bodies." That was his cure. If corporations would adopt this democratic organization, he said, two-sided discussions would take place at their meetings. "These discussions would tend to prevent the adoption of policies that now create endless antagonism between labor and capital." And he went on to point out the many other natural advantages. « 12

This compromise was tried. At first it naturally made labor angry, labor having been in exclusive control for so long. Many laborers declined to have anything to do with concerns that were run by "low ignorant speculators," as they called them, "men who knew nothing of any concern's real needs." Ultimately, however, they yielded to the trend of the times. Democratic instead of autocratic control brought about team-play. Men learned to work together for their common good. « 13

Of course capitalists and laborers did not get on any too well together. Self-respecting men on each side hated the other side's ways—even their ways of dressing and talking, and amusing themselves. The workers talked of the dignity of labor and called capital selfish. On the other hand, ardent young capitalists who loved lofty ideals, complained that the dignity of capital

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« 9 (G) *What is suggested by Capital Day? Secretary of Capital? capital of women and children? Japanese capital?* (H) *Why is the tone of the account here typical of the character Day is pretending to be?*

« 11-15 (I) *What is Day's apparent attitude toward the quoted phrases and passages? What is his real attitude?* (J) *To what extent do these paragraphs suggest a compromise which has actually come about? What aspects of the compromise described by Day are not yet a reality?*

was not respected by labor. These young men despised all non-capitalists on high moral grounds. They argued that every such man who went through life without laying aside any wealth for those to come, must be selfish by nature and utterly unsocial at heart. There always are plenty of high moral grounds for both sides. « 14

But this mere surface friction was hardly heard of, except in the pages of the radical capitalist press. There were no more strikes,—that was the main thing. The public was happy. « 15

At least, they were happy until the next problem came along to be solved. « 16

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (K) *What is the author really attacking?* (L) *Show how the methods of logical reasoning could be the same if this were a direct attack. Justify the author's use of the indirect attack in terms of the article's emotional effectiveness. Consider its immediate effect on you and the lasting quality of that effect.* (M) *How might you bring this mock history (published in 1921) up to date?*

ARRANGEMENT. *By the careful writer or speaker, ideas are not thrown about helter-skelter within the general framework of the argument; they are fitted together skillfully with an eye to their effect. For example, they may be paralleled, or contrasted, or repeated, or assembled in some kind of sequence, or distributed for the sake of association. Whatever the arrangement, you may be sure that it has its special role in the emotional impact made by the discourse as a whole.*

In the following portion of his third inaugural address, delivered January 20, 1941, Roosevelt is refuting the claims of men who "believe that democracy, as a form of government and a frame of life, is limited or measured by a kind of mystical and artificial fate . . . that freedom is an ebbing tide." In preceding paragraphs, he has pointed out that during the past few years America has made great progress and has remained a democracy. Now he presents other arguments, and his speech gains in impressiveness because of his use of climactic sequences. The paragraphs are short—probably for convenience in oral reading or for their appearance in newspaper columns. Because the main ideas are thus broken down into many separate units, you will need to discover the main divisions in thought in order to distinguish the various uses of climax.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

Democracy is not dying

DEMOCRACY is not dying. « 1

We know it because we have seen it revive and grow. « 2

We know it cannot die because it is built on the unhampered initiative of

individual men and women joined together in a common enterprise—an enterprise undertaken and carried through by the free expression of a free majority. « 3

We know it because democracy alone, of all forms of government, enlists the full force of men's enlightened will. « 4

We know it because democracy alone has constructed an unlimited civilization capable of infinite progress in the improvement of human life. « 5

We know it because, if we look below the surface, we sense it still spreading on every continent; for it is the most humane, the most advanced, and in the end the most unconquerable of all forms of human society. « 6

A nation, like a person, has a body—a body that must be fed and clothed and housed, invigorated and rested, in a manner that measures up to the objectives of our time. « 7

A nation, like a person, has a mind—a mind that must be kept informed and alert, that must know itself, that understands the hopes and the needs of its neighbors—all the other nations that live within the narrowing circle of the world. « 8

A nation, like a person, has something deeper, something more permanent, something larger than the sum of all its parts. It is that something which matters most to its future which calls forth the most sacred guarding of its present. « 9

It is a thing for which we find it difficult—even impossible—to hit upon a single, simple word. « 10

And yet we all understand what it is—the spirit—the faith of America. It is the product of centuries. It was born in the multitudes of those who came from many lands—some of high degree, but mostly plain people—who sought here, early and late, to find freedom more freely. « 11

The democratic aspiration is no mere recent phase in human history. It is human history. It permeated the ancient life of early peoples. It blazed anew in the Middle Ages. It was written in Magna Carta. « 12

« 1-6 (A) *Six paragraphs are included in the first main division. What is the main idea of this division? Where is it stated?* (B) *What use has the author made of parallelism and repetition in phrasing?* (C) *Are the details arranged in a climactic sequence? Explain your answer.*

« 7-11 (D) *What is the main idea that Roosevelt is leading to in this analogical development?* (E) *Show what use has been made of parallelism and repetition in phrasing.* (F) *Account in terms of climactic development for the order of the paragraphs in this division.*

« 11-15 (G) *Five paragraphs are included in the third division of thought. What basis is there for the arrangement of details in this division?* (H) *In what sense is a climax present in this division too?*

In the Americas its impact has been irresistible. America has been the New World in all tongues, and to all peoples, not because this continent was a new-found land, but because all those who came here believed they could create upon this continent a new life—a life that should be new in freedom. « 13

Its vitality was written into our own Mayflower Compact, into the Declaration of Independence, into the Constitution of the United States, into the Gettysburg Address. « 14

Those who first came here to carry out the longings of their spirit and the millions who followed, and the stock that sprang from them—all have moved forward constantly and consistently toward an ideal which in itself has gained stature and clarity with each generation. « 15

The hopes of the Republic cannot forever tolerate either undeserved poverty or self-serving wealth. « 16

We know that we still have far to go; that we must more greatly build the security and the opportunity and the knowledge of every citizen, in the measure justified by the resources and the capacity of the land. « 17

But it is not enough to achieve these purposes alone. It is not enough to clothe and feed the body of this nation, and instruct and inform its mind. For there is also the spirit. And of the three, the greatest is the spirit. « 18

Without the body and the mind, as all men know, the nation could not live. But if the spirit of America were killed, even though the nation's body and mind, constricted in an alien world, lived on, the America we know would have perished. « 19

That spirit—that faith—speaks to us in our daily lives in ways often unnoticed, because they seem so obvious. It speaks to us here in the Capital of the nation. It speaks to us through the processes of governing in the sovereignties of forty-eight States. It speaks to us in our counties, in our cities, in our towns, and in our villages. It speaks to us from the other nations of the Hemisphere, and from those across the seas—the enslaved, as well as the free. « 20

« 16-20 (I) *How is this final division related to the three preceding?*

« 18 (J) *Can you see any reasons for the short sentences in paragraph 18?*

« 19 (K) *Why use two sentences instead of one in paragraph 19?*

« 20 (L) *Show how in paragraph 20 Roosevelt uses the same method of arrangement that he has been employing except that here he is handling smaller units. Can you see any reason for his doing this?*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (M) *How do parallelisms and repetitions in phrasing help set off the main divisions?* (N) *Within a given main division the phrasing does not necessarily indicate the climactic arrangement of details. Often it seems to indicate only parallel ideas. Can you see any justification for this seeming incongruity?*

WORDS AND SENTENCES. *Interrelated and fusing with the effects created by the mode of attack and the arrangement of ideas are the effects evoked by sentences and words. By his choice and arrangement of words in sentences a speaker and even a writer can play upon the emotions of his audience just as though they were a large and very complex musical instrument. Hitler had this power. So, for more admirable ends, did Webster, Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, and Franklin D. Roosevelt.*

Sentence structure, though it seems like a lackluster affair, has much to do with emotional effect. Short, jabby little sentences give one effect; long, periodic sentences give another; balanced sentences give still a third. In large measure, sentence structure not only points up the relation between ideas but distributes the emphasis, establishes the tempo, and creates the prose rhythm.

Words taken alone have the power to evoke emotional responses. Think, for example, of snake, sirloin, *and* entrails. *In combination, words can be even more evocative. The shrewd arguer manipulates them accordingly. When he wants you to like something, he attaches appealing words to it; when he wants you to dislike something, he attaches repelling words to it. In either event, he uses words that are emotionally "loaded"—words that are rich in connotation.*

Few writers in the English language have been such masters of English sentences and words as Abraham Lincoln. Probably you at one time memorized his "Gettysburg Address," and not just because of his sentiments—there have been other addresses expressing similar sentiments. You memorized it because of the powerful effect created by its sentences and words. The "Second Inaugural," printed here, offers a more lengthy exhibition of Lincoln's skill.

In the year 1865, when Lincoln's address was delivered, the South, after nearly four years of war, was weakening. A peace conference which had been held had, despite its failure, convinced Lincoln that the end was very near. Lincoln's one thought, according to his biographers, "was to shorten by generous conciliation, the period of the dreadful conflict." His cabinet and many Northerners, however, disapproved of his wish for liberal and humane terms. The speech, it would seem, had as a main purpose the creation of a spirit of charity on the part of such opponents in the North. To create such a spirit, Lincoln so molded his style as to minimize differences and emphasize kinships between North and South.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Second inaugural address

AT THIS SECOND APPEARING to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public

declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured. « 1

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it,—all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came. « 2

One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered—that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this

« 1 (A) *The speech begins quietly and with no special fanfare. How in terms of word choice and sentence structure is this mood created? Why is it suited to Lincoln's purpose?*

« 2 (B) *Compare the tone of the last sentence in paragraph 2 with the tone in the following unjustifiable substitution: "And as a result of the blindness, the stubbornness of the enemy, this war, which has brought destruction to many a fair city, death to many a fine young man, thundered into being." How do the wording, the length, the abstractness of Lincoln's version compare with those of his other sentences in paragraphs 1 and 2? What is the effect of the last sentence?*

terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." « 3

With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in,—to bind up the nation's wounds,—to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations. « 4

« 3 (C) *Compare the style of the third paragraph with that of the first two, considering kinds of words used, figures of speech, lengths of sentences, forms of sentences (e.g., balance and rhythm in sentences, such as in the one beginning, "Fondly do we hope . . ."), and Biblical quotations. How are the facts you find related to the relative emotional impact of the paragraphs? To the end Lincoln had in mind?*

« 4 (D) *The final paragraph is one long sentence. Can you see any reason for this? Take the sentence apart; explain how it summarizes the thought, and helps by its structure, word choice, sound, rhythm, and tempo to achieve the purpose of the whole address.*

THE WHOLE SELECTION. (E) *Compare the sentences and words of the preceding selection, "Democracy Is Not Dying," with those in this address. Show how the type of words and sentences in each would be inappropriate to the other.* (F) *What other selections that you have read compare with the "Second Inaugural" in the effect achieved by sentences and words? What ones can you think of that have violently contrasting effects?* (G) *Argument, it has been said, is not only a matter of transmitting your own ideas but also of creating conditions conducive to their receptivity. In what ways can sentences and words contribute to this latter objective?*

PART TWO

How to evaluate factual prose

Evaluating what you read

As you may have discovered from the work in Part One, learning to read is not a simple matter of learning one skill but a matter of mastering a number of distinct and related skills. If you want to consider a comparable problem, think for a moment about learning to drive an automobile. You do not become a good driver by concentrating on driving as such. Rather, you try to master such subskills as steering, braking, accelerating, and shifting gears. What makes the problem awkward at first is that you find it possible to keep your mind on only one operation even though you must perform several at the same time. Worse, you find that each of the subskills has to be adapted to different kinds of situations. For example, steering is no simple, single operation but varies as you drive over straight roads, around sharp unbanked curves, through heavy traffic, over ice and mud, and in and out of parking places. Or take another analogy: Learning to play golf involves a mastery of the grip, the stance, the backswing, the follow through, and so on. And mastery of the golf stroke is no simple operation but one which must be adapted to driving, chipping, blasting from sand, putting, and what to the beginner seems an infinite number of situations.

In like manner, learning to read is a matter of developing a number of subskills and of adapting them to varying situations. Thus it is a matter of gaining a preliminary mastery over such highly complex and intimately related subskills as moving the eyes efficiently across the printed page, picking out the main idea, discovering meanings through context, seeing the relation between details and generalizations, and spotting undue bias. These are just a few examples. The complete list would include everything involved in temporarily controlling our entire psychophysiological being and directing it toward the printed page. Then these subskills must be adapted to varying situations. For example, seeing the relation between details and generalizations is an operation that varies with the type of discourse and with the kind of reasoning within the type. Thus, it is one thing to detect the relation between the generalization and details in an expository paragraph in which the details are arranged chronologically; it is quite another thing to detect such a relation in an argument in which the writer is reasoning deductively. In spite of these complexities, good reading is not at all beyond your capacities provided you have normal intelligence, are patient enough to train yourself properly, and want to learn.

In Part One of this volume we have tried to give you practice with some of the essential subskills and more particularly, with the kinds of situations to which these subskills must be adapted. If you have worked through Part One carefully, you have completed the more mechanical and possibly less interesting part of the work. You should now be competent enough in reading factual

prose to determine in most instances what an author is trying to say and how he says it. The next step is to discover techniques for deciding whether it is well said or worth saying. For if the author's reasoning is false, his facts wrong, his style ambiguous, the work probably does not merit any more of your time or attention. Certainly it is nothing that you want to make an important part of your thinking or upon which you want to base any serious action. Thus, closely related to the act of reading is the act of judgment-making, or evaluation.

There are probably many ways in which you already evaluate factual prose; you may think that a magazine article, to take one example, is good because it is easy to read, or because the material is vivid, or because the author belongs to your church, or because the article appears in your favorite magazine, or because your father says it is good, or because it contains some facts that are new to you, or because it agrees with your point of view, or because it is funny, or because of a hundred and one other reasons you may not even be conscious of. It would be impossible in the next few pages to discuss all of the yardsticks you and others use in measuring the excellence of factual prose. What we shall do is select three that a great many readers think are especially valuable: (1) evaluating a work for its truth, (2) evaluating a work in its own terms, and (3) evaluating a work for its literary excellence. In each case we shall briefly describe the method and then give you several selections on which to apply it. Questions at the end of each selection will help you in making the application. They are typical of the questions you might ask yourself in applying these methods to almost any factual prose account.

One final word before you tackle the first method. There is no single *best* method of evaluation. Sometimes one will seem more relevant, sometimes another. For example, the truth of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* is probably a more significant issue to raise than the issue of whether it does efficiently what it sets out to do or the issue of its literary excellence. Better yet would be a final evaluation based on an application of several methods. Thus the best advice we can give—assuming for the moment that you want advice—is that in assessing the merits of a factual account you use as many methods as seem likely to produce useful judgments. Not only will several approaches be likely to result in a sounder final evaluation than one, but also they will increase your understanding of the work you are reading.

Evaluating a work for its truth

"WHAT misleads us about bookishness and justifies Whitman's warning about 'the spectres that stalk in books,'" writes Professor Jacques Barzun, "is the habit of taking the contents of books in themselves, trusting to words as magic, failing to test them with life or light them up with imagination—in short preferring hokum to truth."

Professor Barzun is arguing here for measuring a work by the yardstick of truth. Clearly, his remark makes good sense. It is astonishing how many people assume that mere print has something innately convincing about it. It is astonishing because a moment of thought will show that the mere fact that something has managed to get printed really means nothing. Incompetents, fools, and rascals may print half truths, nonsense, and lies today as in the past—and they frequently do. Consequently, to say "I believe this or that because I read it somewhere" is to invite the rather sarcastic answer, "Well, it's nice to know that you can read, but wouldn't it be a good plan to learn to think a little too?"

The truth or falsity of a piece of writing may be tested by considering two questions—one or both of them according to the nature of the piece: (1) Who says it? (2) What is said?

Who says it?

IF Einstein, the world's greatest authority on relativity, writes on relativity, the reader who knows of Einstein's reputation will feel that it is fairly safe to trust what he writes. If John Smith, an insurance agent, writes on the same subject, the reader will probably have some doubts. At best he will adopt a "show me" attitude. If Herr Goebbels, propaganda minister for the late Nazi machine, had written on such a subject, most readers, knowing him to have been an unmitigated liar, would probably not even take the trouble to look at his first paragraph. In short, the reputation of the author unconsciously and automatically enters into our judgment of the truth of a work.

Sometimes these unconscious and automatic elements in a judgment are fair, sometimes not. It is quite possible, for example, that an insurance agent, having devoted long years to the study of relativity, might turn out a sound and worth-while article on the subject. To discard it simply because the author does not *seem* to be an authority in the field would be manifestly unfair. Your first function in using this particular method of evaluation, therefore, is to find out all that you can about the author. First of all, discover whether there is any known reason for doubting his integrity. If he is a columnist generally criticized for distorting the facts, a historian notorious for unreasonable prejudices, a political writer with fascist bias, then you will want to scrutinize what he has to say with especial care. If there is no clear reason for doubting his integrity, however, it is only fair to assume that he is honest. A man is not guilty until proved so.

Second, find out if the author is an authority in his field. This is a matter of discovering whether, for example, he has worked in the field himself, whether he has published other works on the same subject, whether he has spent considerable time gathering data for the article you are reading. You may have some serious questions, for instance, about the soap salesman who suddenly turns political analyst or the navy captain who tells educators how to change their curricula. Naturally, if you are sensible, you will not want to carry this to such an extreme that you pooh-pooh anything written by someone without a national reputation in the field. Just to be on the safe side, however, you will want to check the facts and conclusions of such an author against those of recognized authorities. And remember that a reputation in one field does not make a person an authority in another. Keep that in mind the next time you hear a motion-picture columnist telling the State Department what to do about Russia.

Third, discover whether there is any reason for the writer's being biased on the subject of the particular work you are reading. Otherwise objective historians, for example, often lose their objectivity when writing about the Civil War. Two accounts of its outcome—one written by an Alabaman and another by a New Yorker—may differ widely, despite the fact that both authors have reputations as sound historians. In the last war our accounts of battles differed widely from those of the Japanese. And our interpretation of what happened at the Yalta Conference still differs from the Russian interpretation. Remember, too, that the testimonials in advertising are open to question. You yourself would probably not be too reluctant to sign a statement dreamed up by an advertising agent if you were paid a fat fee for doing so. In short, if there is any reason for the author's being biased, put on your best spectacles when you read.

All of this boils down to the fact that in estimating the truth of a work, the identity and reliability of the author cannot and should not be ignored. The value of any testimony depends substantially on the character and competence of the witness giving it.

What is said?

After you have discovered as much as possible about the author, you are ready to extend your study to the work itself. Four questions deserve your attention as you develop your evaluation of its truth.

1. ARE THE FACTS ACCURATE?

Let us assume that by "fact" we mean an event or datum upon the nature of which most people in a position to know agree. Checking the accuracy of the alleged facts you read varies with what you know and what you can find out. If you are an authority in the field, then you can use your own knowledge as a check. If you are not an authority but if information on the same subject is readily available, you can check the alleged facts against what other authorities have to say. If you are not an authority and if information on the same subject is not readily available, then you have to fall back on the reputation of the author and the reliability of his sources.

We have already suggested how you might determine the competence of the author. What we had to say there ap-

plies also to the sources he uses. Ask the same questions of them: Are they reliable? Are they authoritative? Have they any reason to be biased? One point about the authoritativeness of the sources probably needs to be stressed. Other things being equal, the most authoritative sources of information are those closest to the events and phenomena themselves. For example, the best sources for a historian are documents from the period he is writing about, not books by other historians. The best source for a literary critic is the work he is criticizing, not someone else's comment about the work. The best source of information for the scientist is an experiment which he himself has observed, not accounts of experiments by others. As you check for factual accuracy, therefore, see whether the author's sources of information are first- or second-hand, and make your judgments accordingly.

2. ARE THE FACTS REPRESENTATIVE?

There will be times when no single fact presented you by a writer may be inaccurate and still you will get a wholly false impression because of what has been included and excluded. Even in the best accounts the truth sometimes gets blurred because no author is ever able to know or to include all the facts. What you expect of a just account, however, is not all the facts but a fair representation of them.

To see what happens when an author holds out on you, consider two historians' treatments of the men who framed our national Constitution. In one account, the historian assembles facts which show that these men were highly idealistic, were men influenced by the enlightenment of the eighteenth century, men who believed profoundly in their country and devoutly in their God. In another account, the historian assembles facts which show that these same framers of the Constitution were men of property who were looking for an instrument that would protect themselves and their wealth from radical laws and revolution. Now, both of these historians may be using accurate facts, but through the *selection* of details, they have given two completely different pictures. Neither, in short, has used representative facts since each has excluded a significant portion of them.

This is a question that has special pertinence for news accounts and advertising. Many newspapers make no attempt, especially in political news, to print representative facts. A Republican paper plays up those which flatter the Republican party; a Democratic newspaper does the same for those that reflect credit on the Democratic party. And unless you buy both papers, you—the reader—get only half truths. Advertising by its very nature is committed to half truths. You read that a new cereal is chock-full of vitamins but not that it tastes like stale mush; you discover that you can strengthen your gums by rubbing them with a finger covered with a certain dentifrice, but not that you can strengthen them equally well by rubbing them with a finger *not* covered by that dentifrice; you are told that a gasoline gives you more mileage per gallon, but the advertiser fails to specify more mileage than what.

3. ARE THE ASSUMPTIONS TRUE?

The assumptions are what the author takes for granted. They represent the foundation of his thinking and of his attitudes. (Before going on, you might

turn back to pages 45-54 to review what is said there about them.)

Supposing that you are an ordinary reader and not a trained logician, there are roughly two kinds of assumptions that you should concern yourself with. The first is an assumption upon which the truth of a specific statement by the author depends. For example, you read in an editorial column: "Since the new sewage-disposal system is to be a public rather than a private enterprise, we can expect extravagance if not corruption in its management." If you think about this for a moment, you will see that the author is assuming that *all* public enterprises are extravagant if not corrupt in their management. Otherwise, his statement about this sewage-disposal system would not necessarily be true. Notice what assumption must be true if each of these assertions is to be true:

Since Professor Blodgett was not born in the United States, there is good reason to doubt his patriotism.

Being a monopoly, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company works against the best interests of the public.

Farnsworth is only a freshman. You can't expect, therefore, that he would have much command of the English language.

Skill in spotting such assumptions is not something that you can pick up overnight. Yet with a little practice you will be pleased to notice that you are spotting them more quickly and more accurately. Simply ask yourself what *general* statement must be true if this *particular* statement is to be true. Obviously, as a typical reader you do not have time to do this for every particular statement based on an assumption. But whenever you are interested in evaluating the truth of a work, you are obligated to do it for any key statements based on assumptions. For if the assumptions upon which key statements are based are questionable, the truth of the whole work is in doubt.

The other kind of assumption in this rough classification of ours is the broader type of assumption about what is valuable in life: assumptions about what is basically good, true, desirable, useful, and so on. These general assumptions are ones that you discern as you think about the work as a whole, and especially about the author's attitude toward his material. Even in so simple a paragraph as Twain's recipe for making a New England pie (p. 6), you find that he is making an assumption about what is valuable in pies, namely that they should be edible and tasty. In the more serious excerpt from Bellamy entitled "The Stagecoach" (pp. 19-22), you find the author basing his thinking on the assumption that human rights are more precious than property rights. Suppose, now, that in these two selections it became clear that Twain thought pies should not be edible and Bellamy assumed that property rights are more important than human rights. What would happen to your judgments about the truth of these works?

4. IS THE REASONING VALID?

This question about the validity of the reasoning may suggest that you need training in formal logic in order to answer it. Certainly such training would not be amiss, but for your ordinary purposes as a reader, it is not necessary. Your problem is simply to see in common-sense terms whether the conclusions of an author are justified. Al-

ready you know that they are not justified if the facts are inaccurate or unrepresentative or if the assumptions are unsound. Here are some other clues. You might consider them danger signals warning you that you need to check the process by which the author arrives at his main contentions.

(A) *Sweeping generalizations.* Generalizations that cover great quantities of data or large masses of people need to be checked. If an author, for example, makes the claim that in the last ten years the standard of living in Alaska has materially improved, you will probably want to see how extensive his survey has been. If he is basing such a statement on, say, a visit to Nome, then you might well ask him what he knows about Alaska as a whole. Be especially wary of generalizations which are all-inclusive or all-exclusive on controversial subjects. Usually they will be unsound. Here are a few samples.

The Russians are out to dominate the world. (*All* Russians?)

Americans are becoming more and more imperialistic. (*All* Americans?)

No one liked the test Professor Sycamore gave. (Not even the students who got A's, and Professor Sycamore himself?)

Watch out, too, for generalizations with superlatives in them. The claim by its chamber of commerce that Squeedunkville is the fastest growing town in America is probably false. Only one town in America is the fastest growing, and its citizens are probably too busy to spend their time bragging.

(B) *Either-or generalizations,* such as "Every statement is either true or false." Such generalizations are often the result of simple-minded thinking that sees everything in terms of black and white: good and bad, desirable and undesirable, useful and useless, and so on. Such thinking does not recognize any middle position, that an action may be admirable in some respects and reprehensible in others. In short, such thinking does not recognize reality for the complex thing that it is. Usually neither part of the either-or dichotomy is made explicit. What you encounter most of the time is some such arbitrary statement as this: "The activities of this student group are un-American." The implication is that human activities can be neatly classified into two groups, those that are American and those that are un-American. Even supposing that the author has a clear idea of what he means by American, it is doubtful that he would often encounter a group activity which in *all* its aspects would meet or fail to meet his requirements for Americanism.

(C) *Forced analogies.* One of the favorite campaign statements of an incumbent seeking re-election is that the voter should not "swap horses in midstream." Undoubtedly, this makes sense for someone on horseback in the middle of a river, but it has little perceptible relevance for a voter who is supposed to be making his decision on the basis of issues and men. Reasoning based on such a forced analogy is fallacious, and the author's proposition should be scrutinized carefully.

(D) *Forced causal relationships.* One of the worst of these is the type in which the author assumes that because one event happened before another, it therefore caused the other. Take a classic example: Item One—the election of Hoover in 1928. Item Two—the great business collapse in 1929. Did one cause the other, or did it merely precede it? As Professors Shurter and

Helm point out in their little book entitled *Argument*, "The situation here is so complex and so colored by our political affiliations that we shall probably never have an exact answer." Be wary, then, of the author who in dealing with a complex situation gives you neat, exact answers. Another type of forced causal relationship is the *non sequitur*, in which the alleged result bears no relation at all to the cause. In one of its most vicious forms, this type of reasoning appears in diatribes against a man's fitness for political office because of his religion or his mustache.

(E) *Begging the question.* In this type of reasoning fallacy, the author assumes what he should be proving. Thus he may blandly take for granted that socialized medicine results in expensive and second-rate medical service and then go on to argue that, since this is the case, we need to do everything we can to keep Congress from passing any bill that will permit socialization. The real question, of course, is whether socialized medicine does result in expensive and second-rate service. This is what must be backed up by facts. No argument can be highly rated for its truth when based on intellectual dishonesty.

(F) *Ignoring the question.* This is another type of dishonesty and, like begging the question, is found chiefly in argument. When the author gets away from his proposition completely and begins telling irrelevant stories or indulging in mud-slinging or arguing for something else, you are justified in questioning his sincerity and hence the truth of his work.

In this discussion we have tried to indicate how you may evaluate a work for its truth: first by examining the reputation of the author, and second by examining his facts, assumptions, and reasoning processes. To see how all this works out in practice, you should read the next two selections and try to answer the questions at the end of each.

ADOLF HITLER Selections from *The State*

After the unsuccessful putsch *of November 1923, Adolf Hitler spent a little over a year in prison. While there he dictated the first volume of* Mein Kampf *("My Struggle") to Emil Maurice and Rudolf Hess. This volume was published in 1925. In 1926, he wrote a second volume plus a second edition of the first under the supervision of Josef Cerny, staff member of* Völkischer Beobachter, *the Nazi party paper. The selection given here is from Volume II, Chapter 2.*

SINCE NATIONALITY or rather race does not happen to lie in language but in the blood, we would only be justified in speaking of a Germanization if by such a process we succeeded in transforming the blood of the subjected

From *Mein Kampf* by Adolf Hitler; Ralph Manheim, translator. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

people. But this is impossible. Unless a blood mixture brings about a change, which, however, means the lowering of the level of the higher race. The final result of such a process would consequently be the destruction of precisely those qualities which had formerly made the conquering people capable of victory. Especially the cultural force would vanish through a mating with the lesser race, even if the resulting mongrels spoke the language of the earlier, higher race a thousand times over. For a time, a certain struggle will take place between the different mentalities, and it may be that the steadily sinking people, in a last quiver of life, so to speak, will bring to light surprising cultural values. But these are only individual elements belonging to the higher race, or perhaps bastards in whom, after the first crossing, the better blood still predominates and tries to struggle through; but never final products of a mixture. In them a culturally backward movement will always manifest itself. « 1

Today it must be regarded as a good fortune that a Germanization as intended by Joseph II in Austria was not carried out. Its result would probably have been the preservation of the Austrian state, but also the lowering of the racial level of the German nation induced by a linguistic union. In the course of the centuries a certain herd instinct would doubtless have crystallized out, but the herd itself would have become inferior. A state-people would perhaps have been born, but a culture-people would have been lost. « 2

For the German nation it was better that such a process of mixture did not take place, even if this was not due to a noble insight, but to the short-sighted narrowness of the Habsburgs. If it had turned out differently, the German people could scarcely be regarded as a cultural factor. « 3

Not only in Austria, but in Germany as well, so-called national circles were moved by similar false ideas. The Polish policy, demanded by so many, involving a Germanization of the East, was unfortunately based on the same false inference. Here again it was thought that a Germanization of the Polish element could be brought about by a purely linguistic integration with the German element. Here again the result would have been catastrophic; a people of alien race expressing its alien ideas in the German language, compromising the lofty dignity of our own nationality by their own inferiority. « 4

How terrible is the damage indirectly done to our Germanism today by the fact that, due to the ignorance of many Americans, the German-jabbering Jews, when they set foot on American soil, are booked to our German account. Surely no one will call the purely external fact that most of this lice-ridden migration from the East speaks German a proof of their German origin and nationality. « 5

What has been profitably Germanized in history is the soil which our ancestors acquired by the sword and settled with German Peasants. In so

far as they directed foreign blood into our national body in this process, they contributed to that catastrophic splintering of our inner being which is expressed in German super-individualism—a phenomenon, I am sorry to say, which is praised in many quarters. . . . « 6

The *state* in itself does not create a specific cultural level; it can only preserve the race which conditions this level. Otherwise the state as such may continue to exist unchanged for centuries while, in consequence of a racial mixture which it has not prevented, the cultural capacity of a people and the general aspect of its life conditioned by it have long since suffered a profound change. The present-day state, for example, may very well simulate its existence as a formal mechanism for a certain length of time, but the racial poisoning of our national body creates a cultural decline which even now is terrifyingly manifest. « 7

Thus, the precondition for the existence of a higher humanity is not the state, but the nation possessing the necessary ability. « 8

This ability will fundamentally always be present and must only be aroused to practical realization by certain outward conditions. Culturally and creatively gifted nations, or rather races, bear these useful qualities latent within them, even if at the moment unfavorable outward conditions do not permit a realization of these latent tendencies. Hence it is an unbelievable offense to represent the Germanic peoples of the pre-Christian era as 'cultureless,' as barbarians. That they never were. Only the harshness of their northern homeland forced them into circumstances which thwarted the development of their creative forces. If, without any ancient world, they had come to the more favorable regions of the south, and if the material provided by lower peoples had given them their first technical implements, the culture-creating ability slumbering within them would have grown into radiant bloom just as happened, for example, with the Greeks. But this primeval culture-creating force itself arises in turn not from the northern climate alone. The Laplander, brought to the south, would be no more culture-creating than the Eskimo. For this glorious creative ability was given only to the Aryan, whether he bears it dormant within himself or gives it to awakening life, depending whether favorable circumstances permit this or an inhospitable Nature prevents it. « 9

From this the following realization results:

The state is a means to an end. Its end lies in the preservation and advancement of a community of physically and psychically homogeneous creatures. This preservation itself comprises first of all existence as a race and thereby permits the free development of all the forces dormant in this race. Of them a part will always primarily serve the preservation of physical life, and only the remaining part the promotion of a further spiritual development. Actually the one always creates the precondition for the other. « 10

States which do not serve this purpose are misbegotten, monstrosities in fact. The fact of their existence changes this no more than the success of a gang of bandits can justify robbery. « 11

We National Socialists as champions of a new philosophy of life must never base ourselves on so-called 'accepted facts'—and false ones at that. If we did, we would not be the champions of a new great idea, but the coolies of the present-day lie. We must distinguish in the sharpest way between the state as a vessel and the race as its content. This vessel has meaning only if it can preserve and protect the content; otherwise it is useless. « 12

Thus, the highest purpose of a folkish state is concern for the preservation of those original racial elements which bestow culture and create the beauty and dignity of a higher mankind. We, as Aryans, can conceive of the state only as the living organism of a nationality which not only assures the preservation of this nationality, but by the development of its spiritual and ideal abilities leads it to the highest freedom. « 13

Questions

WHAT do you know about the author's reputation for honesty and reliability?

2. What in his experience, study, and other works indicates that he was an authority on genetics?

3. Did he have any reason for bias on this subject (i.e., did he stand to profit personally if the Germans accepted his views)?

4. What facts do you find? Are they accurate? Are the facts representative? Does he indicate what his sources of information are?

5. How sound are his assumptions? In answering this, discuss such assumptions as (a) there is such a thing as blood mixing, (b) there are inferior and superior races, (c) there is an Aryan race, and (d) the mixing of races results in a cultural lowering of the superior. What does Hitler seem to think is most valuable in life?

6. What about his reasoning processes? Do you find sweeping generalizations? either-or generalizations? forced analogies? forced causal relationships? Does he ever beg the question? ignore the question?

7. In the light of your answers to the preceding questions evaluate this part of *Mein Kampf* for its truth.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO

Anthropology's contribution to inter-racial understanding

THERE STILL EXISTS in our industrial societies a tendency, inherited from the past, to regard technological progress as wholly beneficent. We have become accustomed to hail enthusiastically every advance for its own sake or for the greater ease it brings into our personal lives, without consideration for its effect upon our society. We have grasped eagerly at the fruits of science regardless of their price. Now we are discovering that they have a price; that every advance of technology enhances our responsibilities whether we like it or not. The radio, the movie, the airplane have, or should have, taught us that technology may be beneficent, but may also serve evil purposes; that the acceptance of these productions can not remain superficial but must enter into and profoundly alter the organization of our societies. « 1

In no aspect of our lives as members of a complex industrial community, or as a nation in the modern world, has technology brought greater responsibilities than in our attitudes toward the various groups that make up our society, or toward the peoples that constitute mankind. It is a commonly observed truism that the world grows more interdependent, and that our society demands increased cooperation from all its members, as mechanization progresses. As for the future that lies ahead who can question that this process with its demands will continue? There is, therefore, every reason to believe that more cooperation rather than less will be required of us, if the structure of our society is to be preserved. Indeed, the very war in which we are now engaged may be said to be the result of an effort to substitute coercion, intolerance and slavery for our traditional ideals of cooperation. « 2

The evidences of intolerance and of lack of cooperation which confront us on all sides represent maladjustments which become increasingly portentous as the needs for tolerance and cooperation become more pressing. There can, I think, be no question that one of the gravest problems facing our internal as well as our external existence lies in our ability to compose the differences that exist and to create understanding in their place. This is particularly true of the United States, where, unfortunately, the materials

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for group antagonisms are all too abundant. Although essentially the United States has received its population, as have all other nations, by the immigration of various people, for no national populations are autochthonous, nevertheless the manner and circumstances of these settlements have been significant. Where England, Germany, France, Spain and other nations in prehistoric times or during ages of barbarism have been invaded, overrun or settled by the successive groups which now constitute their present population, the United States was settled in the full blaze of introspective history. Where European nations have taken millennia in the amalgamation and assimilation of their people, we have compressed the greatest migration in the history of man into three centuries. Where they have received neighboring people of similar culture or race, we have engulfed a native Indian people with representatives of every European people and forcibly inducted millions of African Negroes not to mention our acquisition of contingents from Asia. « 3

Now, these circumstances of history and accident are pregnant with meaning for our future. Let us examine the consequences of these facts. It is, I think, a consideration of immense importance that this country was settled when it was, in a period of developed literacy and self-consciousness. Under such conditions, group identities and group traditions become quickly established and resist the solvents of time and association. The Pilgrim fathers and the Puritans, sharply aware of their peculiar status, intensified and immortalized it in their written records. The tradition thus created served to set apart its inheritors from all later comers unless they could by some means identify themselves with it. Similarly, the pioneer groups in the west lost no time in establishing their own legends and traditions which drew together in a common bond their descendants but shut out the settlers who followed them. Thus, there has grown up a system of hierarchies, local and national, which excludes whole sections of the population and erects barriers to assimilation and participation. In Europe, where migration succeeded migration, priority of settlement confers no prestige. Indeed, if time is a factor at all, it is likely to be the latest conquerors coming in during historic and literate times who have a special exclusive tradition. « 4

The rapidity of the settlement of the United States has also contributed to the fissures of our society. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when immigration was relatively slow it was possible for newcomers arriving in small lots to become absorbed rather quickly, despite initial prejudices against them. But with the advent of the Irish and German waves of migration in the mid-nineteenth century, overwhelming numbers and differences in religion and culture created in the settled Americans an antagonism toward these newer immigrants which continued for a long time.

With each succeeding wave and with the ever-increasing numbers, the fears and antagonisms were intensified. These we have inherited and will plague us in the future. Had these migrations consisted of Europeans only, we might look to their eventual absorption by the body of older Americans in the course of time, since the physical disparities are slight, the cultural ones disappear and only religious prejudices offer any obstacles. The injection, however, of large masses of Negroes and other non-European people into the population has created a profound schism. For these people bear with them the mark of their difference which neither cultural nor religious assimilation can efface. Thus, the welding of the American population into a harmonious community faces many difficulties whose final resolution requires tolerance and understanding. Without these essential attitudes we can expect aggravations of critical situations and serious dangers to our society. « 5

When we look to the world beyond our borders we see there, too, the same forces of intolerance at work poisoning mutual understanding and respect, at a time when the technology of the future is likely to increase rather than to diminish the needs for international and inter-racial harmony. It is obvious, I think, that the task of building attitudes of tolerance, of fostering cooperation and of encouraging understanding in these matters is a long and tedious path. It is not a subject for evangelization. Not by an act of faith will the unregenerate become converted to the ways of tolerance. Only by the road of education and by the use of reason can we hope to create a lasting atmosphere of tolerance and cooperation. « 6

In this effort we can, I believe, use with profit the lessons of anthropology, for it is the peculiar advantage of this discipline that it permits us to see mankind as a whole and to scrutinize ourselves with some degree of objectivity. All of us are born into a special group of circumstances and are molded and conditioned by them. Our views and our behavior are regulated by them. We take ready-made our judgments and tend to react emotionally to any divergence from or interference with them. In a sense we are imprisoned in our own culture. Many of us never succeed in shaking off the shackles of our restricted horizons. But those who have been educated by experience or by learning to a broader view may escape the micro-culture of the specific group with which they are identified and achieve a larger perspective. I am sure that some of you may recall vividly the experience of an expanding world as you left behind the limitations of youth for the understanding and freedom of maturity. This is an experience which has its counterpart in the intellectual understanding of ourselves and of our culture which anthropology is able to impart. For anthropology deliberately undertakes to study man as a biological phenomenon like any other organism, and on its social side it seeks to lift the student out of his culture by treating

it as one in many social experiments. Professor Boas once observed that his preoccupation with Eskimo culture permitted him to see his own with a fresh eye. Moreover, in placing man's struggle toward civilization in this perspective the anthropologist achieves a historical view which serves to correct the astigmatisms of the present. « 7

In studying man in this fashion, anthropology teaches us among other things that civilization has never been the exclusive possession of one people and that the particular culture of any race or group of men is never the complete product of that race or group. Our own culture, stemming from western Europe, has roots in most of the civilizations of the past and has not hesitated to borrow from its living contemporaries. Our writing, for example, has come to us from Asia Minor via the Greeks; we have inherited principles of architecture discovered for us in Egypt, in the valleys of the Tigris-Euphrates and of the Indus; our knowledge of weaving probably originated in the Nile Valley, the use of cotton in India and silk in China. Egypt and Mesopotamia debate the honor of inventing agriculture and domesticating certain animals. From the American Indian we have received a variety of things such as food plants, snowshoes, the hammock and the adobe house; from the American Negro a rich source of music. The list of our borrowings and inheritances is long. Without them we could not have built our own civilization. Yet our debts have not made us humble. We behave as if we had created our civilization singlehanded and had occupied a position of leadership from the beginning of civilization itself. Actually, we are not only the inheritors of a varied and complex tradition, but the present protagonists of western civilization are merely the latest of mankind to become civilized. One might add that they unfortunately show it. All during the prehistoric ages northwestern Europe represented a back water. Into these remote regions came the stone age innovations after they had been invented elsewhere. Similarly, the neolithic techniques and the use of bronze and iron only slowly were diffused to western Europe centuries after their discovery in Egypt and Mesopotamia. So wild and barbarous were the regions inhabited by the ancient Britons, the Scandinavians and the Germans that the Greeks never even knew of their existence. And to the Romans the inhabitants of these far distant corners were uncouth barbarians unfamiliar with the amenities of civilization. In fact, up to the time of the Renaissance the northwestern Europeans could hardly claim parity by any objective standard with a civilization such as the Chinese of the same epoch, or the native civilizations of Mexico or Peru where substantial achievements in social organization, architecture and art far surpassed contemporary European productions. Well into the Christian era the archeological remains of British culture display a crudity quite unprophetic of their future evolution. If,

then, we justly attribute this backwardness of northwestern Europe in the ways of civilization to the accidents of place and history, how can we fail to admit the potentialities of our contemporaries who give evidence by their learning, by their arts or by their skills of accomplishments fully as great as those of the ancient Briton, Gaul or German. « 8

Though we admit the superiority of western civilization in technology and science, anthropology is decisive in disclaiming any equivalent supremacy in the social organization of the nations of the western world. Indeed, it would be easy to enumerate examples among non-European people with more complicated social systems or with more efficient ones. If it is true that the magnitude of our commerce and industry, enlarged by the resources of science, has created a stupendous economic structure upon our society, it is also true that the social framework which supports it is in certain respects inadequate and inefficient. We who are so proud of our gadgets, who misjudge those who live on a simpler material plane, who scorn others for their superstitions, how are we to judge our ancestors of two or three centuries ago who lacked all that we prize in the way of material comforts and who believed in witchcraft? One can not help but feel that our attitudes are something like those of the little boy whose superior Christmas present elevates him above his less fortunate mates. « 9

One of the most pernicious breeders of ill-will among various races of mankind is the doctrine that a racial hierarchy exists based upon physical and psychological superiorities. It is interesting that the preferred positions in this scale are reserved for the race to which the claimants think they belong. Notions of superiority are, of course, widespread. They permeate groups of all kinds and sizes. The city slicker's airs of superiority over his country cousin are tinged with the same smugness that characterizes rival parishes or sets off the Scotch Highlander from the Lowlanders, distinguishes the Englishman from the British colonial, the Nordic from the Mediterranean, the white races from the colored. They are all based on the idea that differences are degrees of goodness, whereas in most instances differences are merely reflections of environmental adaptations, historical accidents, local developments or simply superficial physical mutations of no intrinsic value. During the nineteenth century these ideas crystallized around the concept of race largely through the writing of de Gobineau, who extolled purity of race and in particular the virtues of the Nordic. This was a period when many so-called European races had each their protagonists. The Mediterranean man was hailed as the culture hero of Europe. English writers drew racial distinctions among their own peoples but spoke instead of Kelt or Saxon or Norman and attributed to them exclusive virtues or vices. The attributions were so precise that it must have been a rash Saxon who would

presume to write mystic poetry or a foolhardy Kelt who would aspire to martial glory. « 10

Race, which started out as a zoological concept, a convenient method of classifying mankind according to physical criteria, much as the kinds of animals might be distinguished, thus became encrusted with psychological attributes and assignments of value. We all know how this monstrous doctrine has been elevated into a credo, how it has been used to inflame and manipulate masses of men, how insidiously it is calculated to make even those who attack it disseminate its seeds. Anthropology, which traditionally has been concerned with the problems of race, has here, too, much to offer in clarifying and correcting racial misconceptions fostered for evil purposes. Perhaps I might best summarize this in a series of principles. « 11

(1) The racial classification of man is primarily a zoological concept. It attempts merely to classify and distinguish the varieties of men by physical criteria. « 12

(2) Migration and intermingling have from his earliest history been characteristic of man so that "pure" races, if they ever existed, are no longer to be found in nature. « 13

(3) The consequence of this intermixture has led to the overlapping of physical characteristics between neighboring people with a pronounced tendency for changes in any physical characteristic to be gradual so that it is practically impossible to set arbitrary lines of division between one type and another. « 14

(4) The geographic extremes of these continuities do show pronounced differences in physical criteria, such as the northwest European, the Chinese and the Negro of Central Africa. « 15

(5) No nation is exclusively of one race, or breed. In Europe especially prehistoric and historic migrations have mixed the various European strains inextricably. There is for example no Nordic Germany. So-called Nordic tribes settled in France, invaded Italy, overran Spain and even reached North Africa. Each nation in Europe represents a composite varying somewhat in their ingredients and proportions. « 16

(6) The psychological attributes of race are non-zoological and logically have no place in racial classification. They are not coterminous with race, which itself is an abstraction. « 17

(7) Moreover, since psychological attributes are commonly based on subjective judgments, are resistant to precise measurement, and are often profoundly influenced by environmental and cultural conditions, they are not suitable as criteria in the classification of races. Their use has led to tragic distortions of truth. « 18

Parenthetically, I can not forbear pointing out the illusions we cherish in the name of practicality. The charge used to be leveled against anthropology

that it was not practical, that it was remote from the important concerns of everyday living, and that it was largely absorbed in abstract and academic concepts. But now we are witnessing a world conflict in which these academic concepts play an enormous part and motivate the thinking of many of the actors. How practical it is then to keep these concepts free from distortion and to expose the fallacies which they engender! « 19

Questions

LOOK up Mr. Shapiro in *Who's Who in America* and in any other work that might contain information about him. Is there anything that would make you want to question his reputation for honesty and reliability?

2. What can you say about him as an authority in the field of anthropology? Does this make him an authority on the subject of this address?

3. Does he have any apparent reason for bias (i.e., does he stand to profit personally if people generally come to believe as he does)?

4. Do you consider his facts accurate and representative? What are the apparent sources of his facts? Where might you check them if you so desired?

5. What basic assumptions do you find about the way men should gain knowledge and use it? What does Mr. Shapiro seem to think is valuable in life? Do you agree?

6. Do you find instances of fallacious reasoning?

7. In the light of your answers to the preceding questions, evaluate this address for its truth.

8. Compare your evaluations of the Hitler excerpt and this address.

Evaluating a work in its own terms

WHEN you evaluate a work in its own terms, you attempt to see how well it does what it sets out to do. Instead of testing it for its truth, you test it for its efficiency.

To the person using this method of evaluation, each work is a new and unique problem. It is almost impossible, therefore, to generalize about the method as a whole. The one thing that can be said is that sound evaluation of a work's efficiency depends upon your ability to recognize: (1) the author's purpose, (2) the readers (or listeners) for whom the work was originally intended, (3) the ways in which content, organization, and presentation are adapted to purpose and audience. So that you can see how this method works with various types of factual discourse, we are discussing in turn several of the most common types: exposition, argu-

ment, history, biography, and criticism. Following each discussion is a sample of the type, and questions which will help you in making your evaluations.

Evaluating explanation as explanation

If a written or oral account is designed primarily to make something clear, it is explanation, or exposition. You know that already from your study of the selections in Part One. At this point you need to take a step further. You need to decide for the work you are evaluating just what the work is trying to make clear and for whom.

The specific purpose of an explanation is ordinarily not too difficult to discover. Usually the author states it in his introduction or conclusion or in both. If he does not make clear anywhere what he is trying to explain, the explanation itself certainly cannot be very effective. You would be justified in giving it a low rank without further consideration.

It may be a little harder to discover for what audience the work is intended. Of course, if the work was originally a speech, there is no special problem; simply find out before whom the speech was delivered. The task is easy, too, in an essay or article, if the author states for whom he is writing. He may, for example, in an introduction or preface or in the text itself explain, "What I have to say, I have to say for all those now attending college in America." More frequently, however, there will be no such obvious clue. Then you need to do a bit of sleuthing. Discover where the work first appeared. If it was in the *New Yorker*, for instance, you know immediately that it was designed primarily for adults of some education and sophistication. If the work is a book, the advertisements for the book, the format, perhaps the author's biography, the reviews, or the criticisms may help. The material and style will give you clues also, but watch that you do not get into *circular reasoning* in making inferences about the audience from the content and style. That is, do not infer that because the details are obvious and the words easy the work is meant for a young audience, and then go on to conclude that because it is meant for a young audience the details and words are appropriate. If you are going to study the appropriateness of a style, you need some nonstylistic clues to the audience.

Once you have spotted the purpose and audience, you are ready to determine whether the work does its job well. Examine the contents. Ask yourself whether they are relevant to the purpose and adapted to the audience. Examine the organization. Ask yourself whether it is appropriate to the material and can be followed by the audience. Examine the words and sentences. Ask yourself whether they make the explanation clear and readable for the audience. In short, ask yourself whether in terms of his purpose and audience the author accomplishes what he sets out to accomplish. This is the key question in this method of evaluation, and on your answer to it depends your overall judgment.

The following article appeared in the *New Republic*. The author has contributed more than twenty articles to the *New Republic* in the last few years, their subjects ranging from radio and television to Petrillo, newspaper "boiler plate," and the British Labor government. After reading the article, follow the questions at the end in evaluating its efficiency as an explanation.

THOMAS WHITESIDE

Sindlinger's slide-rule authors

BEFORE ALBERT E. SINDLINGER loosed his mighty forces upon the American literary scene, the best-known method of writing a successful book was simply to write it. Thanks to Sindlinger, a 41-year-old professional public-opinion analyst, this relatively primitive method seems consigned to obsolescence. « 1

Operating on the theory that the people's word is law, Sindlinger has achieved a new and scientific system of producing best-sellers. He harnesses willing authors to an electro-mechanical editor which rejects all passages unpalatable to the public at large. So successful has been this remarkable robot in two years of electrical criticism that Sindlinger has established a book-writing factory of his own. Now, with slide rule in hand, he is rapidly closing in on radio, movies and records. « 2

Working for Dr. Gallup, Sindlinger's mechanized crusade for a people's literature began to emerge in 1946 as a result of his efforts to plumb the collective mind of American moviegoers. By polling cross-sections of the motion-picture public—children under 12, inmates of jails and lunatic asylums, the blind, and 75 million incorrigible non-moviegoers being cast aside as mathematical jetsam—Sindlinger was able to predict the gross take of any movie under consideration by the big Hollywood studios. « 3

Encouraged by Sindlinger, producers soon clutched for these magic formulas with eager hands. Instead of making pictures, they pored over statistics. While cameras gathered dust, directors waded through deep carpets uttering esoteric terms like "marquee ratings" and "depth penetration figures" with the abandon with which they formerly split infinitives. "The script writer was at his lowest ebb," recalls Sindlinger. "Nobody paid any attention to him." « 4

Sindlinger's solution to this grievous injury was, in effect, to give the writer a rating, too. After a slight disagreement with his chief, Sindlinger cantered away from Dr. Gallup with several projects of his own "to stimulate creative writing in this country." « 5

Casting around for a base of operation, Sindlinger settled temporarily on the American theatre. His experiments were enthusiastically backed by Walter E. Heller, a fabulous Chicago investment banker. Heller had been interested in backing Broadway plays with substantial hunks of money but did not care for the financial risks involved. The two art-lovers quickly worked out an agreeable arrangement. Heller, the angel, installed Sindlinger, a kind of devil's advocate, to determine just how successful prospective plays might be. « 6

From *New Republic*, December 6, 1948. Reprinted by permission of *New Republic*.

Armed with a bagful of recorded script synopses and a generous supply of graph paper, Sindlinger fared forth to learn the will of the people. The inquiry was not unprofitable. Today, upon approach, Sindlinger recites the following litany of success: "We tested a play called 'Loco,' by Unson Albert. We said we wouldn't invest. I think it closed on the third night. We pre-tested a revival of 'The Front Page' and said 'no.' It closed in a couple of weeks. We said 'no' to 'Hear That Trumpet.' It closed in two weeks. We said 'yes' to a revival of 'Sweethearts.' It's still running. Same with 'Burlesque.' Same with 'Brigadoon.'" This chant continues through 17 plays, of which nine were rejected as bad investments. Of the other eight, seven were unqualified hits and one failed financially but won a critics' award. « 7

Not content with putting the American theatre on a sound financial and esthetic footing, Sindlinger devised a statistical formula for assuring success in novel writing. With Heller's continued backing he retired to his farm at Hopewell, New Jersey, with a staff of sharp statisticians and the organizational name of New Entertainment Workshop. Previous to this intrusion, 35 Black Angus cows had been chewing the cud on Sindlinger's pastures. As the cattle moved out, various anonymous authors moved in. There, in a reconverted barn and under the electronic guidance of a remarkable Sindlinger invention called Teldox, they began to write best-sellers. « 8

Teldox, a complete maze of tubes, wires, indicators and moving tapes, is a machine with the Midas touch. Through the alchemy of Teldox, Sindlinger transmutes literary dross into gold. The process is as follows: « 9

Upon unearthing an author with a suitable manuscript and the desire for fame and fortune, Sindlinger tosses the manuscript to his laboratory assistants, who promptly boil it down to its barest bones. The distilled product then is poured into an hour-long recording by a radio announcer. « 10

With this recording and a portable Teldox unit, Sindlinger agents now invade hearth and home throughout the country, assemble proper cross-sections of the population, feed them a light meal and connect them to Teldox while the recording is played on a phonograph. « 11

As the story outline drones on, the public dials its reactions, ranging from "superior" to "bad," on Teldox indicators, each flicker of emotion being recorded by moving tapes. By the time the recording is over and the assembly dispersed, Teldox has compressed an entire book into a graph. « 12

Should the graph dip unpleasantly here and there, sorcerer's apprentices back at Sindlinger's farm may take scissors in hand and snip the offending passages from corresponding chapters in the author's manuscript. Sometimes the author is invited to undertake this melancholy task of excision himself or, as an alternative, to toil over the rejected chapters until Teldox clicks its approval and the graph soars upward like a phoenix from the ashes. At other

times, a literary handyman from Sindlinger's cowshed is chosen to perform the delicate operation of rewriting. . . . « 13

Sindlinger usually declines to accept any fee for the iron aid of Teldox to writers young and old. A small percentage of royalties will suffice. For the privilege of being Teldoxed into fame, Sindlinger-assisted authors hand him anywhere from 10 to 50 percent of their take. Among writers in the 10 percent, or once-over-lightly, category, is Sterling North, a book reviewer whose syndicated column appears in 24 newspapers weekly. Although North himself has sat in judgment on US literature for 15 years as a professional critic, nevertheless, as the author of a children's book originally called *Midnight and Jeremiah* and later retitled *So Dear to My Heart*, written in 1943, he chose to defer to the more impersonal judgment of Teldox—or as he later put it, to the "collective wisdom of the American people." « 14

The result was to be praised by the Milwaukee *Journal* as "a creative piece of writing in the fullest sense of the term." *So Dear to My Heart* sales figures soared to a heart-warming 150,000. Disney snapped up the book for screening and eagerly chipped in $10,000 toward Doubleday's advertising costs. North and Teldox wrote the ads together. « 15

Determined that no form of art shall escape prior approval of Teldoxed people, Sindlinger's outfit is completing a contract with a huge recording company to pretest its popular records and thus to relieve the company executives of the burden of releasing any but those songs endorsed by an overwhelming majority of Americans. « 16

As jive is controlled by Teldox, so will be the thoughts of young America, if Sindlinger has his way. Sindlinger has persuaded a publisher of school textbooks to submit its educational works for revision by New Entertainment Workshop, which also took on the patriotic task of pretesting a program of Americanism for the US Office of Education. According to Sindlinger's brother Walter, an ex-schoolteacher, Teldox is a boon and a blessing to "submarginal" children. « 17

The nature of this electronic windfall to thickpated schoolgoers showed up when Sindlinger's brother pretested a New Jersey high-school group for reactions toward a USOE recording on the virtues of free speech. The recording quoted not only Tom Paine but Socrates. "It was a dead graph all the way through," says Walter gravely. The "submarginal" students declined to be educated by Socrates. "We had the Socrates speech cut out," brother Sindlinger explained. « 18

With these scientific beachheads established in the cultural worlds of theatre, motion picture, music and education, Sindlinger now has ordered a monster assault on the art of radio, an objective already besieged by two other audience-research strategists, C. E. Hooper and A. C. Nielsen. Hooper,

with an army of snoopers at his command, inquires by telephone of the nation's listening habits, and rates competing programs accordingly. Nielsen rates programs by attaching a kind of gas meter to radios in homes throughout the land. « 19

As a voice of the people in radio, Nielsen claims to be more democratic than Hooper (an attitude quietly endorsed by CBS since Nielsen gives CBS programs higher ratings than does his famous rival). Hooper, for his part, claims Hooperatings to be "the most democratic damn thing in America." Dramatically unveiling a great new juggernaut engine named Radox, Sindlinger now insists he is even more democratic than either. « 20

Radox, says Sindlinger, is the perfect snooper before which Nielsen and Hooper can only crumble into dust. With the addition of a few refinements currently being worked on, Radox will pursue the American radio listener with practically every mechanical force known to science. It will hunt him down via telephone line, radar, electronic computer, International Business Machine and infra-red ray, and having caught him, will automatically write a report on his every habit, instantly relaying the intelligence—automatically of course—to radio executives wherever located. « 21

Preparatory to launching Radox on a national scale, Sindlinger currently is Radoxing 200 homes in Philadelphia. To begin his dissection of Philadelphia's radio public, he first finds listeners willing to coöperate with him for no further fee than the guarantee of keeping their radio sets in good repair. (That Nielsen's Audimeter periodically ejects two quarters along with its mailable tape to compensate Audimeter families for their trouble Sindlinger regards as a vicious habit inviting listener bias.) Sindlinger engineers then attach an electronic gadget to each sample set. Through leased telephone lines, the electronic record reaches a huge, central Radox panel in a penthouse office atop the Lewis Building. « 22

Here, in an atmosphere reminiscent of Oak Ridge, sits a girl operator with earphones and a teletype machine. Every second, through her left ear, she hears a program from one of the Radox-equipped sets throughout the city, twists dials until the program matches other noises in her right ear, then codes the result on the teletype. Sindlinger intends, however, to eliminate the girl from this complex operation. He has invented a new machine to do the whole thing electronically. « 23

For the information of Radox, Sindlinger even investigates such matters as what make of car his sample families own, whether or not they use outside laundries and how often they go to the movies. "We know all about these people," he says blandly. "We give our clients the whole smear." Families beyond the range of Radox's network of telephone lines are no less immune. Sindlinger plans to eavesdrop on their dial switchings by installing radar transmitters in their radios to bounce their programs back to his penthouse.

Where he can't use radar, for technical reasons, he'll stagger along with infra-red or invisible light transmitters instead. « 24

With machine thus piled on machine, Sindlinger expects shortly to arrive at what he considers the ideal radio rating—a final, immaculate number, a Radox rating "untouched," as he says, "by human hand." « 25

Sometimes a few small doubts arise in Sindlinger's mind to cloud the sunny future of Teldox, Radox and the arts. Sitting by his Hopewell fireside one cool fall evening recently and musing over his far-flung enterprises, Sindlinger paused, rubbed the back of his head and murmured: "Maybe we're creating a Frankenstein here . . . I don't know. . . ." The mood did not last long. A few seconds later, Sindlinger picked up his slide rule and briskly began computing a new and wonderful graph. « 26

Questions

RATHER clearly there are many aspects of Teldox and Radox that the author might have tried to explain. For example, he might have described the manner in which these gadgets were discovered, the process by which they are assembled, the techniques involved in their operation, and so on. What do such omissions indicate about his specific purpose in this article? What is his purpose? What attitude does the author appear to have toward Sindlinger's accomplishments? How does the tone of this article imply that attitude?

2. What can you determine about the reading audience to whom this article is directed: their age, education, interest in a subject like this, probable knowledge of electronics, of the theater, books, and radio?

3. Are the details sufficient in number to make the explanation complete? Are the details specific and graphic enough to make the explanation interesting? Are the details the kind that the audience would understand?

4. Does the article have a clear and effective introduction? What are the main divisions in the body of the article? What basic expository arrangement or arrangements that you studied in Part One of this book do you find Mr. Whiteside utilizing? Can you think of any arrangement of the material that might have been more effective (e.g., would it have been more effective to discuss Teldox after Radox)? Is the conclusion an effective one? In summary, does the organization help to make this a clear explanation?

5. Compare the lengths of the paragraphs in this article with those of other selections in this book. Do you think the paragraph lengths of this article are appropriate to the three-column format of the *New Republic* (for example, in the *New Republic*, the first four paragraphs take eight, thirteen, fourteen, and twelve lines, respectively)? How have the sentences been adapted to an audience of magazine readers? Would you call the diction technical, formal, informal, homespun, or a combination? What stylistic devices has the author employed to stimulate your interest? On the whole, do you think Whiteside's style is suited to the purpose and audience?

6. What is your overall evaluation of this article as explanation?

Evaluating an argument as argument

As you already know, if a work sets out to make the reader believe something or do something, it is an argument. Again, in reading argument, if you are measuring the work in its own terms, you must decide on its efficiency. How well does it do what it sets out to do?

In evaluating the truth of a work, it is often not important to make a careful distinction between explanations and arguments. But in this type of evaluation it is essential. Rather clearly, you need to know in general what a work sets out to accomplish before you can say how well it accomplishes it. In the case of arguments the general aim is ordinarily fairly easy to determine since the author will make it abundantly evident that he wants you to believe or do something. Occasionally, however, you encounter a work whose tone is a bit puzzling. For example, the work may seem to be argumentative in intent; yet all of its outward characteristics may suggest an explanation. The author may subtly be urging you to do something by explaining the situation as it is. There is nothing improper about such a procedure, since the case for a change in belief or action must always rest—if the case is a sound one—upon the realization that there is a need for a change. Thus a writer may do little more than explain the rent situation in the Negro section of Chicago's South Side and compare rent scales there with scales in other sections of the city; yet you may be impelled by the gross inequalities he brings to light to send money to an organization which is attempting to bring about rent adjustments. Now, is the author explaining or arguing? You have to make some decision so that you can decide how well he does what he sets out to do. In these borderline cases you have to make the best judgment you can, based on the overall effect the work has on you. You may be helped by the following rule of thumb which some readers have found helpful: if the subject is controversial, the work is probably argumentative in its basic purpose.

Having decided that a work is argumentative, you need next to determine its specific purpose and the audience for whom it is intended. In most cases the specific purpose will be perfectly obvious. Where it eludes you completely, however, you can probably by this method of evaluation write off the work as a failure and go about your business. The clues to the nature of the audience are substantially the same as those in explanations. If the work was delivered first as a speech, find out all you can about the listeners. If its original version was in writing, look for specific statements by the author in a preface or in the text itself. Hints may be gleaned, too, from the nature of the work's publication. If the argument is a refutation, find out something about the audience at whom the original argument was directed, for the refutation will presumably be aimed at the same group. Lastly, and with great care, you can make some inferences from the content, emotional appeals, and style. But remember the warning against circular reasoning in the section just preceding this one (p. 104).

The next logical step is to decide how well the contents, organization, emotional appeals, sentences, and words are adapted to the purpose and the audience. The questions at the ends of the following selections indicate how your thinking on almost any argument may

proceed if you are to reach a sound and thoughtful judgment on these matters. The selections themselves represent a form in which argument appears frequently these days—letters to the editor. The question discussed by the letters is one which has been raised many times in the last hundred years by those interested in the plays of William Shakespeare: did Shakespeare write the plays attributed to him or did someone else use his name? Most commonly, those who say that Shakespeare was not the author argue in favor of Francis Bacon. Here, however, a claim is made for Edward De Vere, Earl of Oxford.

GELETT BURGESS Pseudonym, Shakespeare

SIR: In the review of G. B. Harrison's "Shakespeare: 23 Plays and the Sonnets" [*SRL* June 5] there is a misstatement so gross as to vitiate any claims to scholarship. Mr. Redman speaks of "those who hold fuzzily to the notion that 'we know nothing about him' [Shakespeare] instead of realizing that we know more about him than about 'any other Elizabethan dramatist.'" « 1

The most meager knowledge of the Shakespeare mystery cognizes the fact that all we know of the Stratford Shakespeare, Shacksper, or Shakspe, could easily be printed on a half-column of this page. It consists of perhaps a score of often sordid facts—baptisms, marriage, real estate deals, lawsuits, fines, etc. Not one of these records indicates in the slightest way that the Stratfordian was a writer. Nor do the few recorded items regarding the actor Shakespeare (who may or may not have been the Stratfordian) give any such evidence. « 2

While there were many laudatory references to the *author* "Shakespeare" by his contemporaries, not one of them identifies him as the man of Stratford. The name was as much a pseudonym as Mark Twain or O. Henry, and it was a common practice in Elizabethan times to use stooges, often ignorant, whose names were put on title pages, even by the clergy. The anonymity of several important Elizabethan works has never been pierced. « 3

What Mr. Harrison and Mr. Redman "know" about Shakespeare is a fictitious biography based on hearsay, conjecture, and old wives' tales collected by the actor Betterton seventy years after the Stratfordian's death, and, in Mr. Harrison's case, inflated by inferential interpretations of topical subjects in the "Plays and Sonnets." The assertion that Shakespeare of Stratford was the author was not asserted in print until many years after his death. « 4

From *The Saturday Review of Literature*, October 2, 1948. Reprinted by permission of *The Saturday Review of Literature* and Gelett Burgess.

On the other hand, what we know about "other Elizabethan dramatists" is considerable. Of such writers as Edmund Spenser, Marlowe, Ben Jonson, Nash, Lyly, Peele, and others we have a good picture of their education, the books they owned, and their artistic interests which qualified them as writers. « 5

While many of the best-known and most influential scholars in England—such men as the Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, the Canon of Chelmsford Cathedral, principal of Victoria College, University of Liverpool, head master of the Charterhouse School, the professor of English at the Royal Naval Academy, etc.—have publicly attested to their belief that the true author was Edward De Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, hardly a single important professor of English literature in the United States has been willing even to consider the new historical evidence that has changed the whole Elizabethan picture. They rest content, like the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, with historical data derived from sources no later than 1897. Many of the college faculties have been invited to refute, if possible, the new evidence that has accumulated since then. All have refused. « 6

It is true what Mr. Redman says, that we know more about Shakespeare than about any other Elizabethan writer—but the "Shakespeare" is not the Shakespeare of Stratford. He was the brightest star in the firmament of talent in that splendid era. A royal ward, brought up at Court, he was familiar with its usages. Highly educated, with degrees from both Oxford and Cambridge, familiar with the Greek and Latin classics, he could give the plays their sophisticated touch. A student at Gray's Inn for three years, his references to the intricacies of law are easily accounted for. Traveled in Italy, a champion in the tournament, an aristocrat *pur sang*, an expert falconer, a musician, a poet praised as the best, and excellent in comedy, and above all, as Lord Great Chamberlain in charge for years of the company of players who performed Shakespeare's dramas, he had every possible qualification for authorship, while the dummy of Stratford had not one. « 7

Questions

WHAT is the specific purpose of the writer of the first letter to *The Saturday Review of Literature*?

2. What is the nature of his audience?

3. Describe the evidence. Is it concrete? first-hand? substantial? convincing?

4. What are the main divisions of the argument? Show why this arrangement is effective or ineffective.

5. What emotional appeals are used? Are they suited to the audience?

6. Is Mr. Burgess' style suited to the subject and audience? Explain your answer.

7. Is this a good argument? Explain your answer.

CLARK KINNAIRD A reply to Mr. Burgess

SIR: Mr. Gelett Burgess's discovery that there are ignoramuses who, after all the evidence presented to the contrary, still believe the plays attributed to Shakespeare were actually written by that unlettered lout of a horseholder, has alarmed me. I am now convinced that any further delay in arousing the reading public's attention regarding certain facts about George Bernard Shaw, as he is called, may make it more difficult to establish the true authorship of the plays bearing his name. « 1

It will be seen from the evidence I am presenting that it is just as unlikely that the real Shaw wrote the plays attributed to him as that Shakespeare wrote the plays of Edward De Vere. « 2

Let us consider that the facts about Shaw's life are no better established than that "perhaps score of sordid facts," as Mr. Burgess puts it, we have about Shakespeare. We are dependent upon birth and marriage records, reports in the notoriously unreliable press, and biographies which disagree throughout, and which are questionable on other grounds. For example, we know that the so-called biography of Shaw by one who supposedly knew him, Frank Harris, was written by one Frank Scully, who never saw Shaw and therefore could not prove Shaw ever lived! In other cases, Shaw, as he is called, when mysteriously given access to the Ms., changed the original text of the author to suit his purpose. (We shall show what the purpose was!) « 3

From the small body of uncontestable fact about Shaw, it is certain that he was not of royal blood, or even lordly lineage. His father was no more than a corn merchant. George Bernard Shaw, as he is called, never had any formal schooling after the age of fourteen. Indeed, it is questionable whether he had much schooling earlier, because of his apparent inability to spell or punctuate correctly. Any who have seen his letters know them to be studded with "thru," "dont" (without the apostrophe), etc. « 4

How could one who never went to college or even high school have possibly written such a masterpiece as "Candida"? « 5

There is no evidence whatever that the real Shaw even tried to write anything in his youth. He was certainly content to work for five years in, of all places, a real estate office. It's simply incredible that the author of "Pygmalion" could have existed five years in such a stultifying atmosphere. However, we do not have to believe our senses; for staring us in the face is indisputable evidence of the man Shaw's ineptitude as a writer when he did

From *The Saturday Review of Literature*, November 6, 1948. Reprinted by permission of *The Saturday Review of Literature* and Clark Kinnaird.

try to make his living with a pen. In nine years after he left the real estate office (under circumstances which we can conjecture), he earned exactly £6. Four novels, as they were called, were rejected one after the other by publishers. One was about prize-fighting, which is only further evidence of what low tastes he had. Try to couple that with the authorship of "Saint Joan"! « 6

His family had to struggle for existence. "I did not throw myself into it, I threw my mother into it," Shaw said. That sufficiently characterizes the man who some persons believe, oddly, wrote "Mrs. Warren's Profession." « 7

The real Shaw did, it seems, work in the lowest type of literary endeavor, criticism, but drifted from publication to publication—*Pall Mall Gazette, The Star, The Saturday Review*, apparently unable to keep a job. It is well known that any person capable of creating first-rate plays (such as "The Apple Cart," "On the Rocks," etc.) devotes himself to creative work and does not resort to making a living as scavenger among other men's ideas; the critic at best is one who knows how but cannot do it himself. « 8

Realization of this might have made him disposed to allow his name to be used on another man's work. He practised such deceit himself, as those aware of the relationship of Shaw and Corno di Bassetto know. But that is another story. « 9

And now for a conjecture. « 10

The other man with great plays in his mind and heart was in a position that required deceit, as De Vere was. He was an aristocrat, son of a lord and grandson of a duke. He had the education, background, and ability for his chosen profession of playwright, such as De Vere had. But playwriting was no occupation for one of his social position. Persons of the theatre were not acceptable in his set. Also, the kind of plays he was determined to write would, he realized, inevitably compromise the political career for which he was destined by his family and its traditions—if presented in his own name. « 11

The circumstances demanded that the plays bear another's name. A nom-de-plume would be more easily penetrated. So a deal was made, I conjecture. How wise the playwright must have regarded his decision when he rose to high office—the highest office! How embarrassing it might have been for him then if Backbenchers had quoted lines he put in John Tanner's mouth in "Man and Superman." Or for him to have had to receive an ambassador from Bulgaria who was aware the prime minister was the author of "Arms and the Man." « 12

That reference gives you a hint as to the true identity of the author of George Bernard Shaw's plays. You will find stronger hints in a comparison of the literary styles of a recent autobiographical work of an exalted person-

age in Great Britain. But I now present, for the first time, plainer evidence of the true author of Shaw's plays. His name is concealed in the titles of the plays! Look:

"*W*idower's Houses"
"Sa*i*nt Joan"
"Ma*n* and Superman"
"Arm*s* and the Man"
"*T*he Philanderer"
"To*o* Good to Be True"
"A*n*drocles and the Lion"

"Mr*s*. Warren's Profession"
"*P*ygmalion"
"Ov*e*r-Ruled"
"O*n* the Rocks"
"Ba*c*k to Methuselah"
"G*e*tting Married"
"G*r*eat Catherine"

"The Do*c*tor's Dilemma"
"*H*eartbreak House"
"Yo*u* Never Can Tell"
"Majo*r* Barbara"
"*C*aesar and Cleopatra"
"T*h*e Man of Destiny"
"Cand*i*da"
"Misa*ll*iance"
"John Bu*ll*'s Other Island" « 13

Questions

WHAT is the writer's apparent purpose? What is his real purpose?

2. What is the nature of his audience?

3. Describe in detail the nature of the evidence the writer uses. Does it convince you that Churchill wrote Shaw's plays? Does the writer want to convince you? Explain your answer.

4. Is this a direct or indirect attack? What emotional appeals are used?

5. Is this a convincing refutation of the Burgess argument? Explain your answer.

HOY CRANSTON A reply to Mr. Burgess

SIR: The present Oxford theorist affirms that Oxford wrote the plays, but assumed the name of Shakespeare; and the Stratford Shakespeare whom he calls the "Dummy of Stratford" hadn't the qualifications to produce them.
« 1

1. If Shakespeare was only a country bumpkin, and without any education, why was he buried in the Stratford church, and a carved stone bust of him placed on the chancel wall? This stone bust represents Shakespeare with one hand resting on a scroll, and a pen in his other hand. So the bust is a memorial to a writer. « 2

2. At the age of about nineteen Shakespeare went to London. He had a brother, an actor, there. Richard Burbidge, a famous London actor who subsequently played leading roles in Shakespeare's great dramas, was a Stratford man. There is no doubt that these two Stratford men read specimens of Shakespeare's work, and induced him to go to London, the Mecca for talented youth. « 3

3. In London Shakespeare had his poem "Venus and Adonis" published. He wrote this in Stratford. The very man who published his poem was a printer who also went from Stratford to London a few years before Shakespeare. Shakespeare had known this printer in Stratford. His name was Richard Field, and his father was a tanner in the town. Shakespeare dedicated "Venus and Adonis" to the Earl of Southampton, and called the poem: "The first heir of my invention." Here we have evidence that the Stratford Shakespeare states that he is a writer. « 4

4. In Shakespeare's plays you will find names of people he knew in Stratford. In the Induction to "The Taming of the Shrew," Sly the tinker is the chief character. There was a tinker in Stratford by the name of Sly. In the same comedy Sly refers to a woman who kept a public house in the village of Wincot, a village near Stratford. Sly says: "Ask Marian Hacket the fat ale-wife of Wincot." Sly states that he is the son of old Sly of Burton Heath, a village near Stratford. « 5

5. Two associates of Shakespeare's in London, and men who were also actors in his plays, collected Mss. of all Shakespeare's plays and published them seven years after his death. There are documents extant that also prove that Shakespeare was a Stratford man, for Shakespeare's youngest daughter, Judith, took from Stratford a bundle of Mss. to her own home, soon after her father died. « 6

From *The Saturday Review of Literature*, November 6, 1948. Reprinted by permission of *The Saturday Review of Literature* and Hoy Cranston.

6. Shakespeare's will proves that he was a Stratford man, that he frequently went there from London, that he died and was buried in Stratford. His will also proves that he was the same Shakespeare who wrote plays and produced them in London. In his will which was made and signed in Stratford, he left legacies to relatives and friends living in Stratford. He bequeathed his Stratford home to his daughter Susanna. All this proves that Shakespeare was a Stratford man. The will also proves that the same Shakespeare produced plays of his own in London theatres. We find in the will the following: "And to my Fellows (all actors with shares in London theatres) John Hemmynges, Henry Cundell, Richard Burbidge XXVi^{s} Viij^{d} apiece to buy them rings." Burbidge was leading tragedian in Shakespeare's great tragedies. The other two men were Shakespeare's associates and fellow actors in London. "Fellows" means associates. Hemmynges and Cundell were the first to publish all Shakespeare's plays in one volume which is called "The 1623 Folio." Shakespeare's will alone furnishes absolute proof that the Shakespeare who produced the plays was a Stratford man, and not a Stratford "dummy." We know that Shakespeare was also an actor, and speeches in his tragedies prove it, for he knew the art of making points. « 7

Many years ago Mr. William Winter the greatest dramatic critic in America, took me with him to see Edwin Booth as Othello. After the wonderful performance Mr. Winter said: "Shakespeare did not make those great speeches of Othello's sitting down alone in a room. I'm sure he dictated them, while standing, and when roused to 'the top of his bent'." Shakespeare the actor-dramatist knew how to fit an actor with a "role to tear a cat in," the kind Bottom the weaver required to properly demonstrate his histrionic ability. « 8

Questions

WHAT is Mr. Cranston's purpose in writing this letter? Is his purpose the same as Mr. Kinnaird's?

2. Show in detail how his method of refutation differs from that of Mr. Kinnaird. In your answer, consider the mode of attack, the nature of the contents, the arrangement of contents, the emotional appeals, and the style of each of the two letters.

3. Do you find this convincing refutation?

4. Which of the three arguments thus far do you think is best *as argument?*

5. Which of the three would you rank first if you were evaluating them for their *truth*?

GELETT BURGESS The butcher boy of Stratford

In this piece of counterrefutation, Mr. Burgess ignores Mr. Kinnaird's letter but replies in some detail to Mr. Cranston's. The statements about Mr. Hoepfner and Mr. Humphreys are references to letters not reprinted here.

SIR: My recent communication relative to Oxford-is-Shakespeare elicited responses which evince and hypostatize the bigoted renitency usual in orthodox addicts. For the Stratfordian mythology has engendered a strange nympholepsy like a fanatical religion which is not amenable to reason or logic, and abrogates all scientific method. « 1

The lay enthusiasts for the precocious butcher boy of Stratford have displayed of late not only an egregious lack of truth but of courtesy. To accuse me of falsehood in an intellectual discussion, as has Mr. Hoepfner, without specifying wherein I lied, seems like hitting below the belt. And when Mr. Humphreys implies that humorists can never be taken seriously, a gentleman, even if an M. A., should know that a resort to personalities is the surest sign that the unparliamentary satirist feels insecure in his legitimate argument. No doubt he would question the accuracy of Charles L. Dodgson's "Treatise on Determinants" because he happened to write "Alice in Wonderland." « 2

The redargution of my correspondents contains too many mistakes to correct in this space. But, to illustrate their general incompetency, I may hit a few high lights of ignorance. I am childishly taken to task by Mr. Hoepfner, for example, for including Edmund Spenser in a list of Elizabethan dramatists. He should read more carefully. Spenser's biographers all mention, amongst his missing papers, nine comedies. And Gabriel Harvey, an eminent critic of the era, must also have considered Spenser a dramatist, for in his letter he hopes that he himself will not be made fun of on the stage by his friend Edmund. « 3

Mr. Hoy Cranston, too, has drunk none too deeply of the Pierian Spring. His amusing "proof" that the Stratford man was a writer because his bust shows him with a pen in his hand, gives one an insight into Mr. Cranston's limited erudition. For he should know that the monument in the Stratford church dates, in its present condition, only from 1748-49. It differs materially from the original bust as sketched by Dugdale for his book on Warwickshire published in 1656. That showed a sad, cadaverous gent with a long, droop-

From *The Saturday Review of Literature*, February 5, 1949. Reprinted by permission of *The Saturday Review of Literature* and Gelett Burgess.

ing mustache, his arms awkwardly outangled, his hands resting on a cushion. *No pen.* Still another picture of that bust, or another, was the frontispiece to Nicholas Rowe's edition of Shakespeare, 1709. This differed from both the others, but also showed no pen in the hand of the Bard. « 4

Mr. Cranston's assertion that Judith Shakspere "took from Stratford a bundle of Ms. to her own home" is a wild flight of fancy. It is supported by no known record. All we know is that when Thomas Quiney, her husband, after having been twice fined for keeping a disorderly house ("The Cage" tavern), disappeared from Stratford, an inventory of his goods itemed a box of books. No Mss. are mentioned. The rest of the Cranston pseudo-information is mere conjecture. « 5

But why break these silly butterflies on the wheel? The man who is acknowledged to be the greatest living authority on Shakespeare's life has said the last word on the subject. Sir Edmund Chambers (*not* an Oxfordian), author of monumental volumes on the Elizabethan stage, published in 1930 his final documentary life of the Bard in two volumes, after years of preparation. This is his conclusion as to the Stratford man's career as a playwright in London:

> It is no use guessing. As in so many other historical investigations, after all the careful scrutiny of clues and all the patient balancing of possibilities, the last word for a self-respecting scholarship can only be that of nescience. « 6

Questions

WHAT is Mr. Burgess' purpose in his second letter to *The Saturday Review?*

2. What is the nature of his audience? How does it differ from the nature of his original audience?

3. In what ways does he attempt to undermine Mr. Cranston's argument? In answering this, read once more the headnote on refutation, page 65.

4. What various types of emotional appeal are employed? In answering this, comment especially on the device of using such words as *hypostatize, nympholepsy, redargution* in the same letter with expressions like *hitting below the belt.*

5. Do you feel that this argument is successful as argument? Does it dispose of the Cranston argument? Give your reasons in detail.

6. On the basis of these four letters alone, which side in your estimation wins the argument?

Evaluating history as history

Evaluating a historical account in its own terms is a more difficult task than it might first appear. Written history is both a record and an interpretation of past events. In the sense that it is a record, it is clearly explanation; in the sense that it is an interpretation, it is substantially an argument for a proposition of fact. Frequently it is more of an argument than you think. The stuff of history is human affairs, and human affairs inevitably involve controversy. Historians, being human, are bound to take sides on many of the controversial questions—either unconsciously or deliberately. Thus a patriotic Englishman is likely to interpret events leading up to the American Revolution in one way, a patriotic American in another. Each, while explaining the facts, is arguing for his interpretation of the facts. This suggests the immediate problem. To evaluate a historical account in its own terms, you first have to determine rather precisely what those terms are. What exactly is the historian trying to do? To what extent is he simply trying to relate the facts of history? To what extent is he arguing for his own interpretation of these facts? The two extremes might be found in (1) an encyclopedia account of the Revolutionary War in which the writer attempts primarily to list the major events, and (2) a Marxist account of the same war in which the author selects and organizes the facts so that they correspond with his theory of economic determinism. In the first case, the writer wants you to have certain information; in the second, he wants you to believe that this information is evidence in support of his politico-economic theory.

Once you have the author's specific purpose in mind, you need to do a little thinking about the people for whom the history was apparently written. Determine as closely as you can their age, education, geographical distribution, and experience as readers of history. After some consideration, you should be able to say, for instance, that the work was designed for American high-school students, or for American adults who are not specialists in history, or for college professors who are specialists in American constitutional history.

Now you are ready to determine whether in terms of its purpose and audience the history does a competent job. The basic considerations—content, organization, and style—are much the same as those in exposition and argument. Your problem, again, is to see how well they have been adapted to the writer's purpose and to his readers, and in the light of your judgments to evaluate the efficiency of the work as a whole.

The following selection deals with the immediate causes for and the nature of the Declaration of Independence. It is taken from a two-volume work entitled *The Growth of the American Republic*, written by Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager, both of them eminent American historians.

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Independence and the great Declaration

Still, the idea of independence was repugnant to many members of Congress and to a large part of the American people. The ostensible purpose of the two Continental Congresses had been to get the Coercive Acts repealed, restore imperial relations as before 1763, and thus avert both war and independence. As late as the autumn of 1775 the legislatures of North Carolina, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Maryland went on record against independence. Public opinion was not yet ready for any drastic action. Yet the colonies could not forever remain half in, half out of the empire, professing allegiance while refusing obedience. Moderates persuaded themselves that they were not fighting the king or the mother country, but the "unprincipled hirelings of a venal ministry." They referred to the enemy as the "ministerial," not the British army; they hoped for a political crisis in England that would place their friends in power; as late as January 1776 the king's health was toasted nightly in the officers' mess presided over by General Washington. Radicals acquiesced in this policy because they expected that it would have the contrary effect, and make Britain more uncompromising; as it did. « 1

As the months wore on, the difficulties of prosecuting a war while still a part of the empire became more and more patent. Independence was desirable for military success; without it the colonies could scarcely expect that assistance from France upon which they based great hopes. Furthermore, it became clearer every day that the first Congress's policy of non-importation and non-exportation was a complete failure. Commercial pressure was not effective after fighting had aroused passion. It simply prevented the Americans from getting needed supplies, and hurt them more than it did the British. And after so many lives had been lost, at Bunker Hill and in the vain assault on Quebec (December 1775), there came a feeling that something of permanent value ought to be achieved. « 2

No compromise came from England. King George, naturally regarding as insincere an "olive-branch" petition from a body that was carrying on armed rebellion, refused to receive it, and instead issued a proclamation declaring the colonies to be in a state of rebellion (23 August 1775). And on 22

From *The Growth of the American Republic*, Volume I, by Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager. Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press, New York.

December 1775, all trade and intercourse with the Thirteen Colonies was interdicted by Parliament. The triumphant comment of John Adams reveals how this Act helped the American radicals: « 3

I know not whether you have seen the Act of Parliament called the Restraining Act or Prohibitory Act, or Piratical Act or Act of Independency—for by all these titles it is called. I think that the most apposite is the Act of Independency; the King, Lords and Commons have united in sundering this country from that, I think forever. It is a complete dismemberment of the British Empire. It throws thirteen colonies out of the royal protection, and makes us independent in spite of supplications and entreaties. « 4

In January 1776 Thomas Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense* was published. This book was to the American Revolution what *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was to the Civil War. Sweeping aside dialectic and sentiment, Paine stated the case for independence in a crisp, vigorous language, that appealed to the ordinary American. It presented in popular form the natural rights philosophy that was to be embodied in the Declaration of Independence. "Society in every state is a blessing, but Government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst, an intolerable one. Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence; the palaces of kings are built upon the ruins of the bowers of Paradise." With ruthless disregard for tradition and sentiment Paine attacked the monarchy, the British Constitution, and the empire. Monarchy itself, he argued, is an absurd form of government; one honest man worth "all the crowned ruffians that ever lived"; and George III, "the Royal Brute of Great Britain," the worst of monarchs. Such words were sweet music to democratic ears. How absurd, too, that a continent should be governed by an island! Such an unnatural connection merely subjected the colonies to exploitation, and involved them in every European war. Separation would not only avert these evils, but bring positive benefits—such as a world market for American trade. Anticipating the idea of isolation, Paine announced it to be "the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she can never do while, by her dependence on Great Britain, she is made the make-weight in the scale of British politics." « 5

Thus with persuasive simplicity Paine presented the alternatives: continued submission to a tyrannous king, an outworn government, and a vicious economic system; or liberty and happiness as a self-sufficient independent republic. The loyalists he lumped together and denounced as "interested men who are not to be trusted, weak men who *cannot* see, prejudiced men who will not see, and a certain set of moderate men who think better of the European world than it deserves." And he closed with the eloquent peroration: « 6

O! ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the Globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her as a stranger and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive and prepare in time an asylum for mankind. « 7

The influence of this amazing pamphlet cannot well be exaggerated. Within a few months it had been read by or to almost every American. It rallied the undecided and the wavering, and proved a trumpet call to the radicals. "Every Post and every Day rolls in upon us Independence like a Torrent," observed John Adams exultantly. Among the makers of the new nation few played a more dynamic part than Thomas Paine, sometime staymaker of Norfolk in old England. « 8

In each colony now a keen struggle was going on between conservatives and radicals for control of the delegations in Congress. As yet only a few delegations were definitely instructed for independence: it was the task of the radicals to force everyone into line. The struggle coincided with the class and sectional divisions which we have already described as present in most of the colonies. Everywhere the radicals were using the powerful lever of independence to oust the conservatives and put themselves in control, and, under cover of a popular war, push through their programs of democratic reform. The alternative that faced the conservatives in such colonies as New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina was not pleasant. If they tried to stem the popular tide, they would see themselves denounced as tories, hurled out of office, and old institutions exposed to the mercies of the radical democrats. They could maintain their accustomed position and influence, and save their property, only by acquiescing in a policy of war and separation. In Pennsylvania the struggle was particularly bitter, coinciding as it did with the ancient feud of Scotch-Irish frontiersmen and the city artisans against the Quaker oligarchy and the wealthier Germans. The success of the radicals here was achieved only by overthrowing the old government, establishing a new one with full representation of the frontier counties, and drawing up a new constitution. This new revolutionary government promptly instructed the Pennsylvania delegates for independence. The effect of this radical victory upon the Congress, sitting in Philadelphia, was tremendous. « 9

Events now moved rapidly toward independence. In January 1776 came the burning of Norfolk by the patriots to prevent it falling into the power of Lord Dunmore, and Virginia loyalists had to seek the protection of the British fleet. The next month the embattled farmers of the South repulsed royal troops and native loyalists at Moore's Creek Bridge. In March the legislature of North Carolina instructed its delegates to declare independence

and form foreign alliances. Congress then threw the ports of America open to the commerce of the world, and sent an agent to France to obtain assistance. On 10 May Congress advised the states to establish independent governments, as several had done already. On 7 June Richard Henry Lee, pursuant to instructions from his native state, rose in Congress and moved "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States." After a terrific debate in which sturdy John Adams pled the cause of independence, Lee's motion was carried on 2 July. Meantime Congress had appointed a committee consisting of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert Livingston to prepare a formal declaration "setting forth the causes which impelled us to this mighty resolution." This Declaration of Independence, written by Thomas Jefferson, was adopted 4 July 1776. « 10

The Declaration of Independence not only announced the birth of a new nation; the philosophy which it set forth has been a dynamic force in the entire Western world throughout the nineteenth century. "Out of a decent respect for the opinions of mankind," Jefferson summed up, not only the reasons which impelled Americans to independence, but the political and social principles upon which the Revolution itself rested. The particular "abuses and usurpations" which are charged against the king, and which fill a large part of the Declaration, are not advanced as the basis for revolution, but merely as proof that George III had "in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states." The Declaration rests, therefore, not upon particular grievances, but upon a broad basis which commanded general support not only in America but in Europe as well. The grievances are scarcely those which appeal to the student of that period as fundamental; examined in the candid light of history many seem distorted, others inconsequential, some unfair. One of the strongest, an indictment of the slave trade, was struck out at the insistence of Southern and New England delegates. But the historical accuracy of the grievances is not the yardstick by which they are to be measured. Jefferson was making history, not writing it. « 11

Jefferson's indictment is drawn against George III, despite the fact that for twelve years the dispute between the colonies and Britain had centered on the question of parliamentary authority. The only reference to Parliament is in the clause, "He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation." Entire odium of parliamentary misdeeds is transferred to the hapless George III. The reason for this shift was not that the king's influence over politics was understood, but that Congress had finally accepted the position of Adams, Jefferson, and Wilson regarding Parliament as merely the legislative body of Great Britain, each

colonial legislature being a co-equal and coordinate body, having exclusive power (with the king or his representative) over that particular colony. « 12

The political philosophy of the Declaration is set forth clearly and succinctly in the second paragraph:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

"These truths" were not the creatures of Jefferson's mind; they formed a political theory "self-evident" to his generation. The obvious sources for this philosophy were Harrington and Sidney, John Locke's *Second Treatise on Government*, and the actual experience of Americans. It is unnecessary to seek further. « 13

And what was the nature of this ideal government? It was one created by social compact. Originally, so Locke and Jefferson held, men lived equal in a state of nature. When necessity required some form of control, they got together and set up a government by popular consent. It is the function and purpose of government to protect men in their life, liberty, and property. Jefferson substituted for the term "property" the phrase "pursuit of happiness": a characteristic and illuminating stroke on the part of this social philosopher who throughout his life placed human rights first. If government fails to perform these functions, "it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it altogether, and to institute new government"—as the Americans were doing. To the troublesome charge that such popular power would lead to anarchy, Jefferson replied, "all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right them by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed." « 14

It is futile and irrelevant to argue that this theory of the origin of government does not square with nineteenth-century experience and twentieth-century anthropological knowledge. Whatever the origin of government may have been in prehistoric times, in America it often arose just as Jefferson described. As in the Mayflower Compact of 1620, so in countless frontier settlements from the Watauga to the Willamette, men came together spontaneously and organized a government. Jefferson's political philosophy seemed to them merely the common sense of the matter. And the ideas of the Declaration were vital throughout in the nineteenth century. Historical facts derive their significance not as they are judged correct or incorrect by

some abstract criterion, but by the place they come to hold in the minds and imaginations of men. By a curious transfer of ideas Jefferson's doctrine that all men are *created* equal has gradually come to mean that all men *are* equal, or that if not they ought to be. And although Jefferson did not mean to include slaves as men, public opinion finally came to regard slavery as inconsistent with the Declaration. Most of the great liberal reform movements of the nineteenth century—abolition, universal suffrage, labor laws, popular education; most of the nationalist movements—in Ireland, Finland, Italy, Germany in '48, Czecho-Slovakia—based their philosophy on the Declaration of Independence; and the American Union could not have been saved in 1861-65 without it. The timelessness of its doctrines and the haunting beauty of its phrasing insure immortality to the Great Declaration. « 15

Questions

WHAT is the specific purpose of the authors in this passage? Is this purpose wholly a matter of explaining what happened or do the authors argue for a point of view? In answering this, consider among other things whether they want you to think that the action of the colonists was just and admirable. Might an English historian have another point of view in presenting these facts?

2. Describe the reading audience for whom you think this account is intended.

3. In obtaining their material, what sources other than the Declaration itself must the authors have used? By referring to the document itself, page 45, show how much of the Declaration is quoted, how much paraphrased, and how much ignored. Do you think there is enough factual material for your understanding of these particular events in American history? Is there enough material to support the implied proposition that what the colonists did was just and admirable?

4. Show in detail how the selection is organized. Even though it is only part of a larger whole, do you think it has an effective beginning and ending? What is the purpose of the section originally entitled "Independence" (paragraphs 1-10)? the section originally entitled "The Great Declaration" (paragraphs 11-15)? How are the two related? Can you follow the organization easily? If not, what suggestions would you have for changing it?

5. How do the sentences and words here differ from those in the article from the *New Republic* (p. 105) and in the letters to the editor (pp. 111-119)? Be specific and detailed. Account for these differences in terms of the authors' purposes, readers, and form of publication. What special stylistic devices, like the repeated use of quotations, do you find here? Are these devices justified? On the whole, is the style appropriate or inappropriate? Explain your answer.

6. What changes in the selection as it stands would probably be made by the authors if they had started with the assumption that the colonists were a pack of radicals and that what they did was reprehensible?

7. What changes would probably be evident if the authors had written this for eighth-grade students?

8. What is your final evaluation of this history as history?

9. How would you rate the Declaration itself as history? Why?

Evaluating biography as biography

Since biography is simply a special type of history, almost everything that was said about the latter holds true for the former. In most respects the ends and the means are similar.

To sharpen up your thinking, however, it might be useful before tackling the selection given here to recall some of the most common purposes of biographers. Here is a tabulation of a few of them: (1) to give the bare facts of the subject's life, as in the brief accounts in *Who's Who in America* and the *Dictionary of American Biography*; (2) to present an example of a virtuous and successful life for the edification, particularly, of the young; (3) to pay tribute to a personal or popular hero; (4) to debunk a popular hero; (5) to define a class, like Americans of the nineteenth century, by describing a typical example; (6) to reinterpret the life of a man about whom several biographies have already been written; (7) to write a good story based more or less on the facts of someone's life. With one exception, these purposes can be found at the root of autobiographies, too: It is probably seldom that a man sets out to debunk his own reputation, but he might well wish to set forth the facts, interpret the facts, or offer himself as a splendid example of what all men should be.

The following selection from Carl Sandburg's long biography on Abraham Lincoln describes the details of Lincoln's assassination. It gives you a good opportunity to study the relation between means and ends, and to evaluate a piece of biography for its efficiency.

CARL SANDBURG The assassination of Lincoln

The play proceeds, not unpleasant, often stupid, sprinkled with silly puns, drab and aimless dialogues, forced humor, characters neither truly English nor truly American nor fetching as caricatures. The story centers around the Yankee lighting his cigar with an old will, burning the document to ashes and thereby throwing a fortune of $400,000 away from himself into the hands of an English cousin. The mediocre comedy is somewhat redeemed by the way the players are doing it. The audience agrees it is not bad. The applause and laughter say the audience is having a good time. « 1

Mrs. Lincoln sits close to her husband, at one moment leaning on him fondly, suddenly realizing they are not alone, saying with humor, "What will Miss Harris think of my hanging on to you so?" and hearing his: "She won't think anything about it." « 2

From the upholstered rocking armchair in which Lincoln sits he can see only the persons in the box with him, the players on the stage, and any persons offstage on the left. The box on the opposite side of the theatre is empty. With the box wall at his back and the closely woven lace curtains at his left arm, he is screened from the audience at his back and from the musicians in the orchestra pit, which is below and partly behind him. « 3

The box has two doors. Sometimes by a movable cross partition it is converted into two boxes, each having its door. The door forward is locked. For this evening the President's party has the roominess and convenience of double space, extra armchairs, side chairs, a small sofa. In the privacy achieved he is in sight only of his chosen companions, the actors he has come to see render a play, and the few people who may be offstage to the left. « 4

This privacy however has a flaw. It is not as complete as it seems. A few feet behind the President is the box door, the only entry to the box unless by a climb from the stage. In this door is a small hole, bored that afternoon to serve as a peephole—from the outside. Through this peephole it is the intention of the Outsider who made it with a gimlet to stand and watch the President, then at a chosen moment to enter the box. This door opens from the box on a narrow hallway that leads to another door which opens on the balcony of the theatre. « 5

Through these two doors the Outsider must pass in order to enter the President's box. Close to the door connecting with the balcony two inches of plaster have been cut from the brick wall of the narrow hallway. The intention of the Outsider is that a bar placed in this cut-away wall niche and then braced against the panel of the door will hold that door against intruders, will serve to stop anyone from interference with the Outsider while making his observations of the President through the gimleted hole in the box door. « 6

At either of these doors, the one to the box or the one to the hallway, it is the assigned duty and expected responsibility of John F. Parker to stand or sit constantly and without fail. A Ward Lamon or an Eckert on this duty would probably have noticed the gimleted hole, the newly made wall niche, and been doubly watchful. If Lincoln believes what he told Crook that afternoon, that he trusted the men assigned to guard him, then as he sits in the upholstered rocking armchair in the box he believes that John F. Parker in steady fidelity is just outside the box door, in plain clothes ready with the revolver Pendel at the White House had told him to be sure to have with him. « 7

In such a trust Lincoln is mistaken. Whatever dim fog of thought or duty may move John F. Parker in his best moments is not operating tonight. His life habit of never letting trouble trouble him is on him this night; his motive

is to have no motive. He has always got along somehow. Why care about anything, why really care? He can always find good liquor and bad women. You take your fun as you find it. He can never be a somebody, so he will enjoy himself as a nobody—though he can't imagine how perfect a cipher, how completely the little end of nothing, one John F. Parker may appear as a result of one slack easygoing hour. « 8

"The guard . . . acting as my substitute," wrote the faithful Crook later, "took his position at the rear of the box, close to an entrance leading into the box. . . . His orders were to stand there, fully armed, and to permit no unauthorized person to pass into the box. His orders were to stand there and protect the President at all hazards. From the spot where he was thus stationed, this guard could not see the stage or the actors; but he could hear the words the actors spoke, and he became so interested in them that, incredible as it may seem, he quietly deserted his post of duty, and walking down the dimly-lighted side aisle, deliberately took a seat." « 9

The custom was for a chair to be placed in the narrow hallway for the guard to sit in. The doorkeeper Buckingham told Crook that such a chair was provided this evening for the accommodation of the guard. "Whether Parker occupied it at all, I do not know," wrote Crook. "Mr. Buckingham is of the impression that he did. If he did, he left it almost immediately, for he confessed to me the next day that he went to a seat, so that he could see the play." The door to the President's box is shut. It is not kept open so that the box occupants can see the guard on duty. « 10

Either between acts or at some time when the play was not lively enough to suit him or because of an urge for a pony of whiskey under his belt, John F. Parker leaves his seat in the balcony and goes down to the street and joins companions in a little whiff of liquor—this on the basis of a statement of the coachman Burns, who declared he stayed outside on the street with his carriage and horses, except for one interlude when "the special police officer (meaning John F. Parker) and the footman of the President (Forbes) came up to him and asked him to take a drink with them; which he did." « 11

Thus circumstance favors the lurking and vigilant Outsider who in the afternoon gimleted a hole in the door of the President's box and cut a two-inch niche in a wall to brace a bar against a door panel and hold it against interference while he should operate. « 12

The play goes on. The evening and the drama are much like many other evenings when the acting is pleasant enough, the play mediocre and so-so, the audience having no thrills of great performance but enjoying itself. The most excited man in the house, with little doubt, is the orchestra leader, Withers. He has left the pit and gone backstage, where, as he related, "I was giving the stage manager a piece of my mind. I had written a song for

Laura Keene to sing. When she left it out I was mad. We had no cue, and the music was thrown out of gear. So I hurried round on the stage on my left to see what it was done for." « 13

And of what is Abraham Lincoln thinking? As he leans back in this easy rocking chair, where does he roam in thought? If it is life he is thinking about, no one could fathom the subtle speculations and hazy reveries resulting from his fifty-six years of adventures drab and dazzling in life. Who had gone farther on so little to begin with? Who else as a living figure of republican government, of democracy, in practice, as a symbol touching freedom for all men—who else had gone farther over America, over the world? If it is death he is thinking about, who better than himself might interpret his dream that he lay in winding sheets on a catafalque in the White House and people were wringing their hands and crying "The President is dead!" —who could make clear this dream better than himself? Furthermore if it is death he is thinking about, has he not philosophized about it and dreamed about it and considered himself as a mark and a target until no one is better prepared than he for any sudden deed? Has he not a thousand times said to himself, and several times to friends and intimates, that he must accommodate himself to the thought of sudden death? Has he not wearied of the constructions placed on his secret night ride through Baltimore to escape a plot aimed at his death? Has he not laughed to the overhead night stars at a hole shot in his hat by a hidden marksman he never mentioned even to his boon companion Hill Lamon? And who can say but that Death is a friend, and who else should be more a familiar of Death than a man who has been the central figure of the bloodiest war ever known to the Human Family—who else should more appropriately and decently walk with Death? And who can say but Death is a friend and a nurse and a lover and a benefactor bringing peace and lasting reconciliation? The play tonight is stupid. Shakespeare would be better. "Duncan is in his grave . . . he sleeps well." « 14

Yes, of what is Abraham Lincoln thinking? Draped before him in salute is a silk flag of the Union, a banner of the same design as the one at Independence Hall in Philadelphia in February of '61 which he pulled aloft saying, "I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it," saying the flag in its very origins "gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance." Possibly his mind recurs for a fleeting instant to that one line in his letter to a Boston widow woman: "the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom." Or a phrase from the Gettysburg speech: "we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain." « 15

Out in a main-floor seat enjoying the show is one Julia Adelaide Shephard, who wrote a letter to her father about this Good Friday evening at the theatre. "Cousin Julia has just told me," she reported, "that the President is in yonder upper right hand private box so handsomely decked with silken flags festooned over a picture of George Washington. The young and lovely daughter of Senator Harris is the only one of his party we see as the flags hide the rest. But we know Father Abraham is there like a Father watching what interests his children, for their pleasure rather than his own. It had been announced in the papers he would be there. How sociable it seems like one family sitting around their parlor fire. Everyone has been so jubilant for days that they laugh and shout at every clownish witticism such is the excited state of the public mind. One of the actresses whose part is that of a very delicate young lady talks about wishing to avoid the draft when her lover tells her not to be alarmed 'for there is to be no more draft' at which the applause is loud and long. The American cousin has just been making love to a young lady who says she'll never marry for love but when her mother and herself find out that he has lost his property they retreat in disgust at the left hand of the stage while the American cousin goes out at the right. We are waiting for the next scene." « 16

And the next scene? « 17

The next scene is to crash and blare as one of the wildest, one of the most inconceivably fateful and chaotic, that ever stunned and shocked a world that heard the story. « 18

The moment of high fate was not seen by the theatre audience. Only one man saw that moment. He was the Outsider. He was the one who had waited and lurked and made his preparations, planning and plotting that he should be the single and lone spectator of what happened. He had come through the outer door into the little hallway, fastened the strong though slender bar into the two-inch niche in the brick wall, and braced it against the door panel. He had moved softly to the box door and through the little hole he had gimleted that afternoon he had studied the box occupants and his Human Target seated in an upholstered rocking armchair. Softly he had opened the door and stepped toward his prey, in his right hand a one-shot brass derringer pistol, a little eight-ounce vest-pocket weapon winged for death, in his left hand a steel dagger. He was cool and precise and timed his every move. He raised the derringer, lengthened his right arm, ran his eye along the barrel in a line with the head of his victim less than five feet away—and pulled the trigger. « 19

A lead ball somewhat less than a half-inch in diameter crashed into the left side of the head of the Human Target, into the back of the head, in a line with and three inches from the left ear. "The course of the ball was

obliquely forward toward the right eye, crossing the brain in an oblique manner and lodging a few inches behind that eye. In the track of the wound were found fragments of bone, which had been driven forward by the ball, which was embedded in the anterior lobe of the left hemisphere of the brain." « 20

For Abraham Lincoln it was lights out, good night, farewell and a long farewell to the good earth and its trees, its enjoyable companions, and the Union of States and the world Family of Man he had loved. He was not dead yet. He was to linger in dying. But the living man could never again speak nor see nor hear nor awaken into conscious being. « 21

Near the prompt desk offstage stands W. J. Ferguson, an actor. He looks in the direction of a shot he hears, and sees "Mr. Lincoln lean back in his rocking chair, his head coming to rest against the wall which stood between him and the audience . . . well inside the curtains"—no struggle or move "save in the slight backward sway." « 22

Of this the audience in their one thousand seats know nothing. « 23

Major Rathbone leaps from his chair. Rushing at him with a knife is a strange human creature, terribly alive, a lithe wild animal, a tiger for speed, a wildcat of a man bareheaded, raven-haired—a smooth sinister face with glaring eyeballs. He wears a dark sack suit. He stabs straight at the heart of Rathbone, a fast and ugly lunge. Rathbone parries it with his upper right arm, which gets a deep slash of the dagger. Rathbone is staggered, reels back. The tigerish stranger mounts the box railing. Rathbone recovers, leaps again for the stranger, who feels the hand of Rathbone holding him back, slashes again at Rathbone, then leaps for the stage. « 24

This is the moment the audience wonders whether something unusual is happening—or is it part of the play? « 25

From the box railing the Strange Man leaps for the stage, perhaps a ten-foot fall. His leap is slightly interrupted. On this slight interruption the Strange Man in his fine calculations had not figured. The draped Union flag of silk reaches out and tangles itself in a spur of one riding-boot, throwing him out of control. He falls to the stage landing on his left leg, breaking the shinbone a little above the instep. « 26

Of what he has done the audience as yet knows nothing. They wonder what this swift, raven-haired, wild-eyed Strange Man portends. They see him rush across the stage, three feet to a stride, and vanish. Some have heard Rathbone's cry "Stop that man!" Many have seen a man leap from a front seat up on the stage and chase after the weird Stranger, crying "Stop that man!" « 27

It is a peculiar night, an odd evening, a little weird, says the audience to itself. The action is fast. It is less than half a minute since the Strange Man mounted the box railing, made the stage, and strode off. « 28

Offstage between Laura Keene and W. J. Ferguson he dashes at breakneck speed, out of an entrance, forty feet to a little door opening on an alley. There stands a fast bay horse, a slow-witted chore boy nicknamed John Peanuts holding the reins. He kicks the boy, mounts the mare; hoofs on the cobblestones are heard but a few moments. In all it is maybe sixty or seventy seconds since he loosed the one shot of his eight-ounce brass derringer. « 29

Whether the Strange Man now riding away on a fast bay horse has paused a moment on the stage and shouted a dramatic line of speech, there was disagreement afterward. Some said he ran off as though every second of time counted and his one purpose was to escape. Others said he faced the audience a moment, brandished a dagger still bloody from slashing Rathbone, and shouted the State motto of Virginia, the slogan of Brutus as he drove the assassin's knife into imperial Caesar: "*Sic semper tyrannis*"—"Thus be it ever to tyrants." Miss Shephard and others believed they heard him shriek as he brandished the dagger: "The South is avenged!" Others: "The South shall be free!" "Revenge!" "Freedom!" « 30

Some said the lights went out in the theatre, others adding the detail that the assassin had stabbed the gasman and pulled the lever, throwing the house into darkness. Others a thousand miles from the theatre said they saw the moon come out from behind clouds blood-red. It is a night of many eyewitnesses, shaken and moaning eyewitnesses. « 31

The audience is up and out of its one thousand seats, standing, moving. Panic is in the air, fear of what may happen next. Many merely stand up from their seats, fixed and motionless, waiting to hear what has happened, waiting to see what further is to happen. The question is spoken quietly or is murmured anxiously—"What is it? What has happened?" The question is bawled with anger, is yelled with anguish—"For God's sake, what is it? What has happened?" « 32

A woman's scream pierces the air. Some say afterward it was Mrs. Lincoln. The scream carries a shock and a creeping shiver to many hearing it. "He has shot the President!" Miss Shephard looks from the main floor toward the box and sees "Miss Harris wringing her hands and calling for water." There are moanings. "No, for God's sake, it can't be true—no! no! for God's sake!" « 33

Men are swarming up to the edge of the stage, over the gas-jet footlights onto the stage. The aisles fill with people not sure where to go; to leave would be safe, but they want to know what has happened, what else they may see this wild night. Men are asking whether some God-damned fool has for sure tried to shoot the President. Others take it as true. The man who ran across the stage did it. There are cries: "Kill him! Shoot him!" On the stage now are policemen, army officers, soldiers, besides actors and actresses in make-up and costume. Cries for "Water! water!" Cries for "A

surgeon! a surgeon!" Someone brings water. It is passed up to the box. « 34

An army surgeon climbs to the stage and is lifted up and clambers over the railing into the box. Some two hundred soldiers arrive to clear the theatre. The wailing and the crazy chaos let down in the emptying playhouse —and flare up again in the street outside, where some man is accused of saying he is glad it happened, a sudden little mob dragging him to a lamppost with a ready rope to hang him when six policemen with clubs and drawn revolvers manage to get him away and put him in jail for safekeeping. « 35

Mrs. Lincoln in the box has turned from the railing, has turned from where she saw the wild-eyed raven-haired man vanish off the stage, sees her husband seated in the rocking chair, his head slumped forward. Never before has she seen her husband so completely helpless, so strangely not himself. With little moaning cries she springs toward him and with her hands keeps him from tumbling to the floor. Major Rathbone has shouted for a surgeon, has run out of the box into the narrow hallway, and with one arm bleeding and burning with pain he fumbles to unfasten the bar between wall and door panel. An usher from the outside tries to help him. They get the bar loose. Back of the usher is a jam of people. He holds them back, allowing only one man to enter. « 36

This is a young-looking man, twenty-three years old, with mustache and sideburns. Charles A. Leale, assistant surgeon, United States Volunteers, who had left the army General Hospital at Armory Square, where he was in charge of the wounded commissioned officers' ward, saying he would be gone only a short time. Rathbone shows Dr. Leale his bleeding arm, "beseeching me to attend to his wound," related Leale later. "I placed my hand under his chin, looking into his eyes an almost instantaneous glance revealed the fact that he was in no immediate danger, and in response to appeals from Mrs. Lincoln and Miss Harris, who were standing by the high-backed armchair in which President Lincoln sat, I went immediately to their assistance, saying I was a United States army surgeon." « 37

Leale holds Mrs. Lincoln's outstretched hand while she cries piteously: "Oh, Doctor! Is he dead? Can he recover? Will you take charge of him? Do what you can for him. Oh, my dear husband! my dear husband!" He soothes her a little, telling her he will do all that can possibly be done. « 38

The body in the chair at first scrutiny seems to be that of a dead man, eyes closed, no certainty it is breathing. Dr. Leale with help from others lifts the body from the chair and moves it to a lying position on the floor. He holds the head and shoulders while doing this, his hand meeting a clot of blood near the left shoulder. Dr. Leale recalls seeing a dagger flashed by the assassin on the stage and the knife wound of Rathbone, and now supposes the President has a stab wound. He has the coat and shirt slit open, thinking

to check perhaps a hemorrhage. He finds no wounds. He lifts the eyelids and sees evidence of a brain injury. He rapidly passes the separated fingers of both hands through the blood-matted hair of the head, finding a wound and removing a clot of blood, which relieves pressure on the brain and brings shallow breathing and a weak pulse. "The assassin," Leale commented later, ". . . had evidently planned to shoot to produce instant death, as the wound he made was situated within two inches of the physiological point of selection, when instant death is desired." « 39

Dr. Leale bends over, puts a knee at each side of the body, and tries to start the breathing apparatus, attempts to stimulate respiration by putting his two fingers into the throat and pressing down and out on the base of the tongue to free the larynx of secretion. Dr. Charles Sabin Taft, the army surgeon lifted from the stage into the box, now arrives. Another physician, Dr. Albert F. A. King, arrives. Leale asks them each to manipulate an arm while he presses upward on the diaphragm and elsewhere to stimulate heart action. The body responds with an improvement in the pulse and the irregular breathing. « 40

Dr. Leale is sure, however, that with the shock and prostration the body has undergone, more must now be done to keep life going. And as he told it later: "I leaned forcibly forward directly over his body, thorax to thorax, face to face, and several times drew in a long breath, then forcibly breathed directly into his mouth and nostrils, which expanded his lungs and improved his respirations. After waiting a moment I placed my ear over his thorax and found the action of the heart improving. I arose to the erect kneeling posture, then watched for a short time and saw that the President could continue independent breathing and that instant death would not occur. I then pronounced my diagnosis and prognosis: 'His wound is mortal; it is impossible for him to recover.'" « 41

Questions

WHAT is Sandburg's specific purpose in this section of his biography? Is this a purely objective recital of the facts, or is an interpretation of the facts apparent? In answering this, consider whether or not Sandburg establishes any attitude toward Lincoln, John Wilkes Booth, and John F. Parker.

2. Describe the reading audience for whom you think this biography is intended.

3. What sources of information must Sandburg have used in collecting his facts for this selection? Do you find details that must be pure inference or guess work on Sandburg's part? If so, do you find them annoying? How does the kind of details given here differ from the kind given in the Morison and Commager selection (p. 121)? What reasons can you give for this difference? Compare the details given here for quantity and quality with the details in some other biography you have read.

4. This is obviously the narrative type biography. What are the divisions within the narrative? What is the climax? How does Sandburg build up to a climax? Do you think a historian is justified in creating a climax? Explain your answer.

5. How do the sentences and words here differ from those in the Morison and Commager selection? Be as definite as you can. Can you account for some of these differences by noticing the differences in the natures of biography and history? Sandburg's style, whether in poetry or prose, is always interesting. What is gained, for example, by writing in the present tense? What results from terms like "the Outsider," "the Human Target," and "the Strange Man"? Does any paragraph approach poetry in its phrasing and effect?

6. In retrospect, do you find that the content, organization, and style are appropriate to the purpose you described in your answer to question 1 and the audience you defined in your answer to question 2?

7. How would this selection have to be changed if Sandburg had desired primarily to explain Booth's motives? If he had wanted to show that Lincoln's death was a good thing? If he had been writing for grade-school youngsters? For professors of history?

8. What is your final evaluation of this biography as biography?

Evaluating criticism as criticism

THE word *critic* comes from the Greek word *krinein,* meaning "to judge." The chief purpose of the critic, if we may follow this etymological lead, is to make judgments. But judgments of what? The answer is, of almost anything. It is your first function as a reader to discover precisely *what* the critic is judging, and this may not be so simple as it seems. For example, in a long critical essay like Stephen Pepper's *The Basis of Criticism in the Arts,* you will find the author interested primarily in evaluating methods of literary judgments; in a typical newspaper review you will find the writer attempting to evaluate a single work; in another critical work you may find the critic evaluating not the work of the author but the purpose of the author in writing the work; in still another, you may find the critic evaluating the achievements of a whole era. And so on. It seems unnecessary to labor so obvious a point, and yet many readers go awry in reading critical essays simply because they never come to realize precisely enough what the critic is trying to evaluate.

Knowing that criticism is judgment-making and having determined what the critic is trying to evaluate, you are now ready to determine his specific purpose. In doing this, you might well keep in mind that a criticism is really an argument for a proposition of fact. Without too much thought, you can understand why this should be. Resting ultimately on our individual tastes, critical judgments vary widely and are, therefore, controversial. The successful critic is the one who can assemble evidence and present it in such a fashion as to convince other thoughtful readers that his judgments (propositions) are sound and

worth holding. In stating the critic's specific purpose, therefore, you will find it useful to put the statement of it in the form of a proposition. Don't be content with some vague statement to the effect that the critic's purpose is to evaluate *The Scarlet Letter*; state his precise proposition (e.g., *The Scarlet Letter*, despite a weak ending and certain flaws in style, continues to be a great novel).

The clues to the nature of the critic's audience are substantially the same as those you have found in reading other types of factual discourse. Especially important is the place where the critical work appears. The Chicago *Sun-Times*, for instance, has one reading audience; the *Virginia Quarterly Review* has quite another.

As usual, the main part of your task as the critical reader is to decide how well the means have been adapted to the author's purposes and his audience. Only one point needs to be added here to what has been said in the previous discussion of this problem. This point deals with content. Criticism is almost invariably a matter of selecting and applying standards to the thing being criticized. Even when you say a cherry pie is good, you are selecting and employing standards which you think are applicable to cherry pies, such standards as tartness, juiciness, and the like. These standards are really part of what you have to say, part of the content of your statement. Thus you cannot say that you know what is in a critical discourse until you are able to state what the author's standards of excellence are. This may not always be easy to do. Especially in short reviews, and even in some long treatises, the author is unlikely to make his standards explicit. Frequently, therefore, you must push beneath the words themselves to see what the author is assuming about the nature of good books, good plays, good gasoline stoves, or whatever the class is to which the specific object belongs. In short, you cannot evaluate the efficiency of a critic in making a critical measurement until you know what measuring sticks he is using.

The following essay by Edmund Wilson falls in type between the newspaper review of a particular work and a book treating an author's total artistic accomplishment. It deals with more than one work; yet its purpose is limited and clearly discernible. It was published first in the *New Republic* and then appeared as part of a collection of essays entitled *The Boys in the Back Room*. Your problem is to see how well Mr. Wilson does what he sets out to do.

EDMUND WILSON John Steinbeck

JOHN STEINBECK is also a native Californian, and he has occupied himself more with the life of the state than any of these other writers. His exploration in his novels of the region of the Salinas Valley has been more thoroughgoing and tenacious than anything else of the kind in our recent

From *The Boys in the Back Room* by Edmund Wilson, 1941. Reprinted by permission of The Colt Press.

fiction, with the exception of William Faulkner's concentration on the State of Mississippi. « 1

And what has Mr. Steinbeck found in this country he knows so well? I believe that his virtuosity in a purely technical way has tended to obscure his themes. He has published eight volumes of fiction, which represent a great variety of forms and which have therefore seemed to people to be written from a variety of points of view. *Tortilla Flat* was a comic idyl, with the simplification almost of a folk tale; *In Dubious Battle* was a strike novel, centering around Communist organizers and following a fairly conventional pattern; *Of Mice and Men* was a compact little drama, contrived with almost too much cleverness, and a parable which criticized humanity from a non-political point of view; *The Long Valley* was a series of short stories, dealing mostly with animals, in which poetic symbols were presented in realistic settings and built up with concrete detail; *The Grapes of Wrath* was a propaganda novel, full of preachments and sociological interludes, and developed on an epic scale. Thus attention has been diverted from the content of Mr. Steinbeck's work by the fact that whenever he appears, he seems to put on a different kind of show. He is such an accomplished performer that he has been able to hold people's interest by the story he is telling at the moment without their inquiring what is behind it. « 2

Yet there is in Mr. Steinbeck's fiction a substratum which remains constant and which gives it a certain basic seriousness that that of the mere performer does not have. What is constant in Mr. Steinbeck is his preoccupation with biology. He is a biologist in the literal sense that he interests himself in biological research. The biological laboratory in the short story called *The Snake* is obviously something which he knows at first hand and for which he has a strong special feeling; and it is one of the peculiarities of his vocabulary that it runs to biological terms. But the laboratory described in *The Snake*, the tight little building over the water, where the scientist feeds white rats to rattlesnakes and fertilizes starfish ova, is also one of the key images of his fiction. It is the symbol of his tendency in his stories to present life in animal terms. « 3

Mr. Steinbeck almost always in his fiction is dealing either with the lower animals or with human beings so rudimentary that they are almost on the animal level; and the close relationship of the people with the animals equals even the zoöphilia of D. H. Lawrence and David Garnett. The idiot in *The Pastures of Heaven*, who is called Little Frog and Coyote, shows his kinship with the animal world by continually drawing birds and beasts. In *Tortilla Flat*, there is the Pirate, who lives in a kennel with his dogs and has practically forgotten human companionship. In *In Dubious Battle*, there is another character whose personality is confused with that of his dogs.

In *The Grapes of Wrath*, the journey of the Joads is figured at the beginning by the progress of a turtle, and is accompanied and parodied all the way by animals, insects and birds. When the expropriated sharecroppers are compelled to abandon their farm in Oklahoma, we get an extended picture of the invasion of the house by the bats, the weasels, the owls, the mice, and the pet cats that have gone back to the wild. Lennie in *Of Mice and Men* likes to carry around pet animals, toward which as well as toward human beings he has murderous animal instincts. The stories in *The Long Valley* are almost entirely about plants and animals; and Mr. Steinbeck does not have the effect, as Lawrence or Kipling does, of romantically raising the animals to the stature of human beings, but rather of assimilating the human beings to animals. *The Chrysanthemums*, *The White Quail* and *The Snake* deal with women who identify themselves with, respectively, chrysanthemums, a white quail and a snake. In *Flight*, a young Mexican boy, who has killed a man and run away into the mountains, is finally reduced to a state so close to that of the beasts that he is taken by a mountain lion for one of themselves; and in the fantasy *Saint Katy the Virgin*, where a bad pig is made to repent and become a saint, the result is not to dignify the animal as the *Little Flowers of Saint Francis* does with the wolf of Agubbio, for example, but to reduce human religion to absurdity. « 4

Nor does Steinbeck love his animals as Lawrence does. The peculiar point of view is well explained in connection with Thomas Wayne in *To a God Unknown*: "He was not kind to animals; at least no kinder than they were to each other, but he must have acted with a consistency beasts could understand, for all creatures trusted him. . . . Thomas liked animals and understood them, and he killed them with no more feeling than they had about killing each other. He was too much an animal himself to be sentimental." And Steinbeck does not even dwell much, as Lawrence does again, on the beauty of his animals in their kinds. It is what they do, not what they look like, that interests him. « 5

The chief subject of Mr. Steinbeck's fiction has been thus not those aspects of humanity in which it is most thoughtful, imaginative, constructive, nor even those aspects of animals that seem most attractive to humans, but rather the processes of life itself. In the natural course of nature, living organisms are continually being destroyed, and among the principal things that destroy them are the predatory appetite and the competitive instinct that are necessary for the very survival of eating and breeding creatures. This impulse of the killer has been preserved in a simpleton like Lennie in a form in which it is almost innocent; and yet Lennie has learned from his more highly developed friend that to yield to it is to do something "bad." In his struggle against the instinct, he loses. Is Lennie bad or good? He is betrayed as,

Mr. Steinbeck implies, all our human intentions are: by the uncertainties of our animal nature. « 6

And it is only, as a rule, on this primitive level that Mr. Steinbeck deals with moral questions: the virtues like the crimes for Mr. Steinbeck are still a part of these planless and almost aimless, of these almost unconscious, processes of life. The preacher in *The Grapes of Wrath* is disillusioned about the human moralities, and his sermon at the grave of Grandpa Joad, so lecherous and mean during his lifetime, evidently gives expression to Mr. Steinbeck's point of view: "This here ol' man jus' lived a life and jus' died out of it. I don't know whether he was good or bad, but that don't matter much. He was alive, an' that's what matters. An' now he's dead, an' that don't matter. Heard a fella tell a poem one time, an' he says 'All that lives is holy.' " « 7

The subject of *The Grapes of Wrath,* which is supposed to deal with human society, is the same as that of *The Red Pony,* which is supposed to deal with horses: loyalty to life itself. The men who feel the responsibility for having let the red pony die must retrieve themselves by sacrificing the mare in order to bring a new pony into life. And so Rose of Sharon Joad, with her undernourished baby born dead, must offer her milk, in the desolate barn which is all she has left for a shelter, to another wretched victim of famine and flood, on the point of death from starvation. To what good that ponies and Okies should continue to live on the earth? "And I wouldn' pray for a ol' fella that's dead," the preacher goes on to say. "He's awright. He got a job to do, but it's all laid out for 'im an' there's on'y one way to do it. But us, we got a job to do, and they's a thousan' ways, an' we don't know which one to take. An' if I was to pray, it'd be for the folks that don't know which way to turn." « 8

This preacher who has lost his religion does find a way to turn: he becomes a labor agitator; and this theme has already been dealt with more fully in the earlier novel, *In Dubious Battle.* But what differentiates Mr. Steinbeck's picture of a labor movement with radical leadership from most books on such subjects of its period is again the biological point of view. The strike leaders, here as in other novels, are Communists, but the book is not really based on the formulas of Communist ideology. The kind of character produced by the Communist movement and the Communist strategy in strikes (of the Communism of the day before yesterday) are *described* by Mr. Steinbeck, and they are described with a certain amount of admiration; yet the party member of *In Dubious Battle* does not talk like a Marxist of even the Stalinist revision. The principled cruelty of these revolutionists, though in their struggle they must immolate themselves, is not palliated any more than the cruelty of the half-witted Lennie; and we are made to

feel throughout that we are witnessing examples of human behavior from which the only conclusion that the author seems confident in drawing is that this is how life in our age behaves. There is developed in the course of the book—especially by a fellow-traveler doctor who seems to come closer than the Communist to expressing Mr. Steinbeck's own ideas—a whole philosophy of "group-man" as an "animal." « 9

"It might be like this, Mac: When group-man wants to move, he makes a standard. 'God wills that we recapture the Holy Land'; or he says 'We fight to make the world safe for democracy'; or he says, 'We will wipe out social injustice with communism.' But the group doesn't care about the Holy Land, or Democracy, or Communism. Maybe the group simply wants to move, to fight, and uses these words simply to reassure the brains of individual men. . . ." « 10

"How," asks Mac, "do you account for people like me, directing things, moving things? That puts your group-man out." « 11

"You might be an effect as well as a cause, Mac. You might be an expression of group-man, a cell endowed with a special function, like an eye cell, drawing your force from group-man, and at the same time directing him, like an eye. Your eye both takes orders from and gives orders to your brain." « 12

"This isn't practical," objects Mac. "What's all this kind of talk got to do with hungry men, with lay-offs and unemployment?" « 13

"It might have a great deal to do with them. It isn't a very long time since tetanus and lockjaw were not connected. There are still primitives in the world who don't know children are the result of intercourse. Yes, it might be worth while to know more about group-man, to know his nature, his ends, his desires. They're not the same as ours. The pleasure we get in scratching an itch causes death to a great number of cells. Maybe group-man gets pleasure when individual men are wiped out in a way." « 14

Later, when the mob of striking fruit-pickers begins to get out of hand, the Communists themselves begin to think of them in these infra-human terms: « 15

"They're down there now. God, Mac, you ought to of seen them. It was like all of them disappeared, and it was just one big animal, going down the road. Just all one animal. . . ." « 16

"The *animal* don't want the barricade. I don't know what it wants. Trouble is, guys that study people always think it's men, and it isn't men. It's a different kind of animal. It's as different from men as dogs are. Jim, it's swell when we can use it, but we don't know enough. When it gets started it might do anything." « 17

So the old pioneer of *The Leader of the People* describes the westward

migration which he led as "a whole bunch of people made into one big crawling beast. . . . Every man wanted something for himself, but the big beast that was all of them wanted only westering." « 18

This animalizing tendency of Mr. Steinbeck's is, I believe, at the bottom of his relative unsuccess at representing human beings. « 19

The *paisanos* of *Tortilla Flat* are really not quite human beings: they are cunning little living dolls that amuse us like pet guinea-pigs or rabbits. A special convention had been created to remove them from kinship with the author and the reader. In *The Grapes of Wrath,* on the other hand, Mr. Steinbeck has summoned all his resources to make the reader feel his human relationship with the family of dispossessed farmers; yet the effect of this, too, is not quite real. The characters of *The Grapes of Wrath* are animated and put through their paces rather than brought to life; they are like excellent character actors giving very conscientious performances in a fairly well-written play. Their dialect is well done, but they talk stagily; and, in spite of Mr. Steinbeck's attempts to make them figure as heroic human symbols, you cannot help feeling that they, too, do not quite exist seriously for him as people. It is as if human sentiments and speeches had been assigned to a flock of lemmings on their way to throw themselves into the sea. One remembers the short story called *Johnny Bear.* Johnny Bear is another of Steinbeck's idiots: he has exactly the physique of a bear and seems in almost every way subhuman; but he is endowed with an uncanny gift for reproducing with perfect mimicry the conversations he overhears, though he understands nothing of their human meaning. « 20

And it is illuminating to go back from *The Grapes of Wrath* to one of the earliest of Steinbeck's novels, *To a God Unknown.* Here he is dealing quite frankly with the destructive and reproductive forces as the central principles of all nature. The hero is told by one of the other characters that he has "never known a person": "You aren't aware of persons, Joseph; only people. You can't see units, Joseph, only the whole." He finds himself, almost unconsciously and in contravention of Christianity, practising a primitive nature cult, to which, in time of terrible drought, he sacrifices first his wife, then himself, as blood offerings that bring the rain. This story, though absurd, has a certain interest, and it evidently represented on Steinbeck's part an honorably sincere attempt to find expression for the way the world looked to him and his conception of the powers that animate it. When you husk away the mawkish verbiage from the people of his later novels, you get a very similar impression of humanity as perceived not in "units" but as a "whole" and a vision equally grim of its cycles of extinction and renewal. « 21

Not, however, that Mr. Steinbeck's picture of human beings as lemmings, as grass that is left to die, hasn't its partial validity. It has even its special pertinence to the world as we see it in our time. In our day, Shakespeare's angry ape, drest in his little brief authority, seems to make of all the rest of mankind angry apes or cowering rodents. The one thing that was imagined with intensity in Aldous Huxley's last novel was the eighteenth-century exploiter of the slave trade degenerating into a fetal anthropoid. Many parts of the world are today being flooded with migrants like the Joads, deprived of the dignity of a human society, forbidden the dignity of human work, and made to flee from their houses like prairie-dogs driven before a prairie fire. « 22

Aldous Huxley has a good deal to say, as our American Humanists did, about the importance of distinguishing clearly between the human and the animal levels; and, like the Humanists, he has been frightened back into one of those synthetic moral cults which do duty for our evaporated religions. The doctor in *In Dubious Battle* deprecates even those elements of religion that have entered into the labor cause; and he takes no stock in the utopianism of the Communists. When he is depressed by the barbarity of the conflict and is reminded by the neophyte Jim that he "ought to think only of the end: out of all this struggle a good thing is going to grow," he answers that in his "little experience the end is never very different in its nature from the means. . . . It seems to me that man has engaged in a blind and fearful struggle out of a past he can't remember, into a future he can't foresee nor understand. And man has met and defeated every obstacle, every enemy except one. He cannot win over himself. How mankind hates itself." "We don't hate ourselves," says Jim. "We hate the invested capital that keeps us down." "The other side is made of men, Jim, men like you. Man hates himself. Psychologists say a man's self-love is balanced neatly with self-hate. Mankind must be the same. We fight ourselves and we can only win by killing every man." « 23

The philosophy of Mr. Steinbeck is obviously not enough for us either in its earlier or its later form. He has nothing to oppose this vision of man's hating and destroying himself except an irreducible faith in life; and the very tracts he writes for the social struggle let us see through to the biological realism which is his natural habit of mind. Yet I prefer his approach to the animal-man to the mysticism of Mr. Huxley; and I believe that we shall be more likely to find out something of value for the control and ennoblement of life by studying human behavior in this spirit than by the code of self-contemplation which seems to grow so rootlessly and palely in the decay of scientific tradition which this latest of the Huxleys represents. « 24

For the rest, Mr. Steinbeck has invention, observation, a certain color of style which for some reason does not possess what is called magic. None of his novels seems to me precisely first-rate. He has provided a panorama of California farm-life and California landscape which is unique in our literature; and there are passages in some ways so brilliant that we are troubled at being forced to recognize that there is something artistically bad about them. Who has ever caught so well such a West Coast scene as that in *To a God Unknown* in which we visit the exalted old man with the burros who has built his hut high on the cliff so that he can look down on the straight pillars of the redwoods and off at the sea far below, and know that he is the last man in the western world to see the sun go down. What is bad here is the animal sacrifice which the old man performs at this moment and which reminds us of the ever-present problem of the mixture of seriousness and trashiness in the writing of Mr. Steinbeck. I am not sure that *Tortilla Flat,* by reason of the very limitations imposed by its folk-tale convention, is not artistically his most successful production. « 25

Yet there remains behind the journalism, the theatricalism, and the tricks of his other books a mind which does seem first-rate in its unpanicky scrutiny of life. « 26

Questions

Is Edmund Wilson's general purpose evaluation? What exactly is he evaluating? State in the form of a declarative sentence his specific purpose.

2. Describe the reading audience for whom you think this critical essay is intended. Is Wilson's a style that would appeal to this reading audience? To what audiences might it not appeal? How would the style have to be changed if Wilson were writing for people generally uninterested in books?

3. What are Wilson's standards for good novel writing? To what extent does he make these standards explicit? What proportion of the essay is devoted to a discussion of standards? What proportion to an application of the standards? Does he give you enough specific material from Steinbeck's novels to make his contentions seem sound? What kinds of specific material do you find (e.g., plots, characters, symbols, excerpts)?

4. The main proposition of a criticism is almost always a value judgment. At what point in the essay do you find this unifying statement of value? What are the main divisions of the essay? How would these main divisions and the material in them have had to be changed if Wilson's purpose had been to show that Steinbeck is a better writer than Erskine Caldwell? to show that Steinbeck improved steadily as he continued to write?

5. Do you think that this essay does well what it sets out to do?

Evaluating a work as literature

WHEN you evaluate a factual work in its own terms, you judge its efficiency in performing its task. When you evaluate the truth of a factual work, you test its accuracy. A third kind of evaluation tests the value of a factual work *as literature*. Literary evaluations depend upon tastes, and tastes, of course, differ. If you have disagreed with someone about the value of a movie or a novel, your discussion has shown how your tastes in imaginative literature contrast with the tastes of your opponent. Similarly, your tastes may cause you to judge factual writings differently from the ways some other readers judge them. Nevertheless, you will probably find that even those standards of judgment which differ from yours make a good deal of sense.

The simplest way for a reader to judge the literary value of a piece of factual prose is by noticing its effect upon him. The reader may ask simply, "Does it give me valuable information, interest me, excite me?" and decide that it is good or bad according to his answer. Such an evaluation, in a sense, is final, since each reader knows best, of course, how he himself reacts while reading. Furthermore, practically all of us naturally use such a test. On second thought, however, most of us will not be satisfied to stop with this test—a test which, used alone, involves only our personal reactions.

Most of us, therefore, will start by taking this test for granted, and will take a further step; that is, we will try to formulate and discuss our *reasons* for reacting favorably or unfavorably to a piece of writing. Such a procedure relieves us of the need to talk about ourselves alone and allows us to talk about important aspects of the work as well. Let us consider now what these aspects of the work may be.

Some readers may say, "What I demand of a factual piece of writing if I am to like it is truth." Such readers believe that literary excellence and truthfulness of some sort or other are one and the same thing, and they make tests much like those you applied in comparing Hitler's remarks with those of Shapiro (pp. 93-103). Of course, if you use the truth of a work as a measure, however, you will probably want to distinguish between the kind of truth it reveals and other kinds of truth. You may, for instance, value works in terms of the usefulness of the truth they unfold. You may prize originality, and value works expressing unfamiliar truths above those which express familiar truths. Or you may rate great truths above lesser ones. Regardless, the element of truth in a work will be particularly important to you.

Some readers may say, "If a work of any sort does well the chore it sets out to do, it is—to my way of judging—a good work." Such persons feel that a literary evaluation does not differ greatly from the evaluation of a work in its own terms (p. 103). They may, to be sure, distinguish between the complexity of the chore performed, and they may dis-

tinguish between poor, merely satisfactory, and brilliant performance of the chore. But if you use this yardstick, you will be chiefly interested in seeing how the author has adapted his method to his material and to the audience which he is addressing.

Still other readers may judge works by criteria which differ from any which have so far been discussed. They may be interested, for instance, in some aspect of the author's technique. They may be interested in the overall organization. More often, they may be interested in the author's style. "I am most pleased and impressed," some readers may say, "by an author who uses words, phrases, and sentences in an appealing fashion." If you use this kind of test, you will naturally attend to details in the author's manner of expression. You will have preferences among kinds of words—concrete or abstract, emotive or neutral, figurative or literal, homely or learned. Or perhaps you will take pleasure in finding that an author uses words of several kinds to secure variety, emphasis, and contrast. You will have preferences among kinds of sentences—simple or complicated, lengthy or brief, normally ordered or inverted—or perhaps you will admire an author who can use several kinds according to the kind of job he wants the sentences to perform. You may be interested in the author's handling of sound—rhythmical or unrhythmical, melodious or harsh, and so forth.

Another group of readers may be strongly influenced in their judgment by the personality of the author of a piece of factual prose. "I can't care much," such readers will say, "for a piece of factual prose which doesn't give me some sense of its author's personality. And naturally I like most the work of an author whose personality—at least as it appears in the work—is somehow appealing." An appealing personality, to be sure, may be one of many kinds—humorous or full of righteous anger, friendly and intimate or majestically remote, full of common sense or unusual learning, and so on. But if you are interested in this element, you will not be satisfied with any factual prose which does not acquaint you with a personality which, for some reason, you like or admire.

These are perhaps the chief single tests. Naturally, though, many readers—those who probably get the most enjoyment out of reading—apply not one of these measuring sticks in isolation but two or more in combination. If, for instance, you say, "Of course I want a piece of factual prose to do its job well; in addition I want it to express great truths in an appealing style," you have three criteria: the efficiency of the work, the kind of truth it expresses, and its style. If you say, "A great work, in my opinion, is one which embodies the expression of a great thought by a great man," you combine an interest in the truth of a work with an interest in its author's personality.

The usefulness to others of your evaluation of any given work will depend upon two things: (1) their agreement or disagreement with your general criterion or criteria, and (2) their opinion of the way you apply your measurement to a given work. In other words, your evaluation of a work includes two steps, the formulation of your principle—your major premise—and the application of your principle to a particular work—your minor premise. Both steps are important in a satisfactory evalua-

tion. And the second step requires that you look in detail at the piece of writing itself and that you find evidence there to support your claim that the work does its job well, that it expresses a great truth, that it is written in an appealing style, that it expresses an attractive personality, or that it does two or more of these things.

Some of these standards, and some of the applications of these standards, will be better than others, naturally: most of us will agree, modestly, that our own standards and our use of them are superior. There will be none, perhaps, about which everybody will agree. But one statement which most of us will approve is that it is desirable for us as readers to have defensible literary standards, and to apply them consciously and intelligently when judging the literary values of a work.

In working on the following selections, you are not asked to make any judgments as to literary excellence but to note how other critics make judgments. After reading these selections carefully, you might profitably return to the earlier selections in this part of the book, Part Two, and re-evaluate them, this time for their literary excellence. You may be interested in seeing how closely your appraisals reached by this method correspond to the evaluations which you reached by the other methods.

PERCY HOLMES BOYNTON Emerson's prose

If people were puzzled to follow the drift of Emerson's lectures—and they often were—it was because most of them were so vague in outline. They literally did drift. There were two or three explanations for this defect. One was that Emerson seldom set himself the task of "composing" a complete essay. His method of writing was to put down in his morning hours at the desk the ideas that came to him. As thoughts on subjects dear to him flitted through his mind he captured some of them as they passed. These were related,—like the moon and the tides and the best times for digging clams,—but when he assembled various paragraphs into a lecture he took no pains to establish "theme coherence" by explaining the connections that were quite clear in his own mind. It happened further, as the years went on, that in making up a new discourse he would select paragraphs from earlier manuscripts, relying on them to hang together with a confidence that was sometimes misplaced. And auditors of his lectures in the last years recall how, as he passed from one page to the next, a look of doubt and slight amusement would sometimes confess without apology to an utter lack of connection even between the parts of a sentence. « 1

From *A History of American Literature* by Percy Holmes Boynton. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Ginn and Company.

In his sentences and his choice of words, however, there were perfect simplicity and clearness. Here is a passage to illustrate, drawn by the simplest of methods—opening the first volume of Emerson at hand and taking the first paragraph. It happens to be in the essay on "Compensation."

> Commit a crime, and the earth is made of glass. Commit a crime, and it seems as if a coat of snow fell on the ground, such as reveals in the wood the track of every partridge and fox and squirrel and mole. You cannot recall the spoken word, you cannot wipe out the foot-track, you cannot draw up the ladder, so as to leave no inlet or clew. Some damning circumstance always transpires. The laws and substances of nature—water, snow, wind, gravitation—become penalties to the thief.
> « 2

In this passage of ninety words more than seventy are words of one syllable, and only one of the other eighteen—*transpires*—can baffle the reader or listener even for a moment. The general idea in Emerson's mind is expressed by a series of definite and picturesque comparisons. "Be sure your sin will find you out," he said. "You commit the wicked deed, creep, dodge, run away, come to your hiding place, climb the ladder, and hope for escape. But nature or God—has laid a trap for you. Your footprints are on the new-fallen snow; human eyes follow them to the tell-tale ladder leading to your window; and you are caught. The laws of the universe have combined against you in the snowfall, the impress of your feet, and the weight of the ladder which you could not raise." « 3

There is, perhaps, no great difference in the language used by Emerson and that in the paraphrase, but in the way the sentences are put together Emerson's method of composing is once more illustrated. Emerson suggests; the paraphrase explains. Emerson assumes that the reader is alert and knowing; the paraphraser, that he is a little inattentive and a little dull. Lowell has summed up the whole matter: "A diction at once so rich and homely as his I know not where to match in these days of writing by the page; it is like home-spun cloth-of-gold. The many cannot miss the meaning, and only the few can find it." This is another way of saying, "Anybody can understand him sentence by sentence, but the wiser the reader the more he can understand of the meaning as a whole." « 4

Questions

What does Boynton say about the overall organization of Emerson's essays? Does he approve or disapprove?

2. How does Boynton prove that "In his sentences and his choice of words . . . there were perfect simplicity and clearness"? Is the proof sound?

3. What does Boynton try to prove by paraphrasing the paragraph from "Compensation"? Comment upon the value of the demonstration.

4. What preparation has there been for Lowell's statement about Emerson's diction?

5. What would appear to be Boynton's criteria for judging Emerson? What is your attitude toward such criteria?

RANDALL JARRELL Ernie Pyle

THERE ARE many passages in Pyle that, in their extraordinary intensity and exactness of observation and presentation, seem to the reader to have reached a pure truth of statement. (When we read his famous column about the dead Captain Waskow we are no longer separated from the actual event by anything at all.) In the hospital tent he sees that all the wounded and dying look alike, their faces reduced to a "common denominator" by dirt and suffering and exhaustion—except for an extremely fair soldier, who looks like "a flower in a row of weeds." As the bombs from hundreds of our heavy bombers were falling toward Pyle (by that mistake that killed General McNair and hundreds of other Americans), he heard how "the universe became filled with a gigantic rattling as of huge ripe seeds in a mammoth dry gourd"; he and a stranger wriggled desperately under a farm wagon, and waiting for the bombs already exploding around them, he saw that "we lay with our heads slightly up—like two snakes—staring at each other." Is there any imaginable way in which the next quotation could be altered? « 1

> Our fighters moved on after the enemy, and those who did not fight, but moved in the wake of the battles, would not catch up for hours. There was nothing left behind but the remains—the lifeless debris, the sunshine and the flowers, and utter silence. An amateur who wandered in this vacuum at the rear of a battle had a terrible sense of loneliness. Everything was dead—the men, the machines, the animals—and he alone was left alive. « 2

I do not need to write about Pyle's humor and honesty and understanding, all the precious and "human" qualities—this use of *human* seems an inexorable rationalization, a part of the permanent false consciousness of humanity —that no reader has missed. Along with them there is the charm of those frailties which he insisted on so much. He told beautifully, and often, how scared he was (*Lord, but I felt lonely out there*); but his extraordinary courage—no, his ordinary courage, the courage which, as he showed endlessly, had to be ordinary for millions of men—his readers could only guess, from the long voluntary succession of those situations he was so scared in. His steady humility and self-forgetfulness—without any of the usual veneration of the self for what it is forgetting—were reinforced by his peculiarly objective amusement at his own relation to the world. (When he landed on Okinawa he borrowed a combat jacket with U. S. Navy on the back. Later a marine told him: "You know, when you first showed up, we saw that big Navy stenciled on your back, and after you passed I said to the others: 'That guy's an admiral. Look at the old gray-haired bastard. He's been in the

From *The Nation*, May 19, 1945. Reprinted by permission of *The Nation*.

navy all his life. He'll get a medal out of this sure as hell.' ") His affectionate amused understanding and acceptance of all sorts and levels of people come from his imaginative and undeviating interest in, observation of, these people; he is as unwilling to look away from them because they do not fit his understanding of them as he is to reject them because they do not satisfy the exacting standards he keeps for himself. « 3

He was very much more complex than most people suppose; and his tragedy—a plain fatality hung over the last of his life, and one is harrowed by his unresigned *I've used up my chances*—was not at all that of the simple homogeneous nature destroyed by circumstances it is superior to. People notice how well he got along with people and the world, and talk as if he were the extrovert who naturally does so; actually he was precisely, detailedly, and unremittingly introspective, and the calm objectivity of his columns is a classical device—his own confused and powerful spiritual life always underlies it, and gives it much of its effect. This contradictory struggle between his public and private selves, between the controlled, objective selectivity of the pieces and his own intense inner life, one must guess from fragments or the remarks of those who knew him best; it is partly because this one side of him is incompletely represented in his work that one regrets his death so much. « 4

His writing, like his life, is a victory of the deepest moral feeling, of sympathy and understanding and affection, over circumstances as terrible as any men have created and endured. By the veneration and real love many millions of people felt for him, their unexplained certainty that he was *different* from all the rest, and theirs, they showed their need and gratitude for the qualities of his nature, and seemed almost to share in them. He was a bitter personal loss for these people. Most of his readers could not escape the illusion that he was a personal friend of theirs; actually he was—we meet only a few people in our lives whom we ever know as well or love as much. There are many men whose profession it is to speak for us—political and military and literary representatives of that unwithering state which has told us all our lives what we feel and what we think, how to live and when to die; he wrote what he had seen and heard and felt himself, and truly represented us. Before his last landing in the Ryukyus, he felt not only fear and revulsion, but an overwhelming premonition that he would die there: "repeatedly he said he knew he would be killed if he hit another beachhead. Before he finally settled the question of whether or not to go ashore in his own mind, he spent three sleepless days and nights. Then on the fourth day he made up his mind." He told a good friend, "Now I feel all right again"; to other people he said merely that he didn't want to go there, but he guessed the others didn't either. He had to an extraordinary degree the sense of

responsibility to *the others*, the knowledge of his own real duty, that special inescapable demand that is made—if it is made—to each of us alone. In one sense he died freely, for others; in another he died of necessity and for himself. He had said after visiting the lepers in the Hawaiian Islands: "I felt a kind of unrighteousness at being whole and 'clean.' I experienced an acute feeling of spiritual need to be no better off than the leper." «5

After he died I saw, as most people did, a newsreel of him taken in the Pacific. He is surrounded by marines trying to get his autograph, and steadies on the cropped head of one of them the paper he is signing. He seems unconscious of himself and the camera; his face is humorous, natural, and kindly, but molded by the underlying seriousness, almost severity, of private understanding and judgment. I remembered what the girl in "The Woodlanders" says over another grave: "You were a *good* man, and did good things." But it is hard to say what he was or what we felt about him. He filled a place in our lives that we hardly knew existed, until he was there; and now that he is gone it is empty. «6

Questions

How, presumably, would the quoted paragraph (p. 149) be harmed if it were altered? In other words, what virtue does Jarrell think it illustrates? Why, presumably, is this a virtue?

2. What, precisely, is the nature of Jarrell's interest in Pyle's personal qualities? What does this interest show about his attitude toward personality as revealed by factual prose?

3. How is the passage about the newsreel scene relevant? What preparation has there been for the final three sentences?

4. How convincing to you is the case made for Pyle as a writer?

ALDOUS HUXLEY T. H. Huxley as a literary man

PHILOSOPHICAL WRITINGS have much higher potentialities of beauty than purely descriptive writings. The descriptive writer is confined within the narrow prison of the material objects whose likeness he is trying to render. The philosopher is the inhabitant of a much more spacious, because a purely mental, universe. There is, if I may so express myself, more room in the theory of knowledge than in a crayfish's heart. No doubt, if we could feel as certain about epistemology as we do about the shape and function of crustacean viscera, the philosopher's universe would be as narrow as the

descriptive naturalist's. But we do not feel as certain. Ignorance has many advantages. Man's uncertainties in regard to all the major issues of life allow the philosopher much enviable freedom—freedom, among other things, to employ all kinds of artistic devices, from the use of which the descriptive naturalist is quite debarred. « 1

The passages from Huxley's philosophical writings which I now propose to quote and analyse have been chosen mainly, of course, because they exhibit characteristic excellences of style, but partly, also, for the sake of their content. Huxley's philosophical doctrines are outside my province, and I shall not discuss them. What I have done, however, is to choose as my literary examples passages which illustrate his views on a number of important questions. They show how cautious and profound a thinker he was—how very far from being that arrogant and cocksure materialist at whom, as at a convenient Aunt Sally, certain contemporary publicists are wont to fling their dialectical brickbats. « 2

Huxley's use of purely rhythmical effects was always masterly, and my first three examples are intended to illustrate his practice in this branch of literary art. Here is a paragraph on scientific hypotheses:

> All science starts with hypotheses—in other words, with assumptions that are unproved, while they may be, and often are, erroneous, but which are better than nothing to the searcher after order in the maze of phenomena. And the historical progress of every science depends on the criticism of hypotheses—on the gradual stripping off, that is, of their untrue or superfluous parts—until there remains only that exact verbal expression of as much as we know of the facts, and no more, which constitutes a perfect scientific theory. « 3

The substance of this paragraph happens to be intrinsically correct. But we are the more willing to believe its truth because of the way in which that truth is expressed. Huxley's utterance has something peculiarly judicious and persuasive about it. The secret is to be found in his rhythm. If we analyse the crucial first sentence, we shall find that it consists of three more or less equal long phrases, followed by three more or less equal short ones. Thus:

> All science starts with hypotheses—
> in other words, with assumptions that are unproved,
> while they may be, and often are, erroneous;
> but which are better than nothing
> to the searcher after order
> in the maze of phenomena.

The long opening phrases state all that can be said against hypotheses—state it with a firm and heavy emphasis. Then, suddenly, in the second half

of the sentence, the movement quickens, and the brisk and lively rhythm of the three last phrases brings home the value of hypotheses with an appeal to the aesthetic sensibilities as well as to the intellect. « 4

My second example is from a passage dealing with "those who oppose the doctrine of necessity":

> They rest [writes Huxley] on the absurd presumption that the proposition "I can do as I like" is contradictory to the doctrine of necessity. The answer is: nobody doubts that, at any rate within certain limits, you can do as you like. But what determines your likings and dislikings? Did you make your own constitution? Is it your contrivance that one thing is pleasant and another is painful? And even if it were, why did you prefer to make it after the one fashion rather than the other? The passionate assertion of the consciousness of their freedom, which is the favorite refuge of the opponents of the doctrine of necessity, is mere futility for nobody denies it. What they really have to do, if they would upset the necessarian argument, is to prove that they are free to associate any emotion whatever with any idea whatever; to like pain as much as pleasure, vice as much as virtue; in short, to prove that, whatever may be the fixity of order of the universe of things, that of thought is given over to chance. « 5

Again, this is a very sound argument; but its penetrative force and immediate persuasiveness are unquestionably increased by the manner of its expression. The anti-necessarian case is attacked in a series of short, sharp phrases, each carrying a simple question demanding a simple and, for the arguer's opponents, a most damaging answer:

> But what determines your likings and dislikings?
> Did you make your own constitution?
> Is it your contrivance that one thing is pleasant and another is painful?

The phrases lengthen as the argument deals with subtler points of detail; then, in the last sentence, where Huxley convicts his opponents of upholding an absurdity, they contract to the emphatically alliterative brevity of

> to like pain as much as pleasure,
> vice as much as virtue.

After which the absurdity of the anti-necessarian case is generalized; there is a long preparatory phrase, followed by a brief, simple and, we are made to feel, definitive conclusion:

> to prove that, whatever may be the fixity of order of the universe of things,
> that of thought is given over to chance. « 7

The persuasive effectiveness of these last phrases is enhanced by the use of alliteration. "Things" and "thought" are key words. Their alliterative

resemblance serves to emphasize the unjustifiable distinction which the anti-necessarians draw between the two words. And the insistent recurrence in both phrases of the v-sound of *prove, whatever, universe* and of *given* and *over* enhances the same effect. « 8

The passage I am now about to quote is remarkable both for what it says and for the particularly solemn and noble manner of the saying:

In whichever way we look at the matter, morality is based on feeling, not on reason; though reason alone is competent to trace out the effects of our actions and thereby dictate conduct. Justice is founded on the love of one's neighbour; and goodness is a kind of beauty. The moral law, like the laws of physical nature, rests in the long run upon instinctive intuitions, and is neither more nor less "innate" and "necessary" than they are. Some people cannot by any means be got to understand the first book of Euclid; but the truths of mathematics are no less necessary and binding on the great mass of mankind. Some there are who cannot feel the difference between the "Sonata Appassionata" and "Cherry Ripe," or between a gravestone-cutter's cherub and the Apollo Belvedere; but the canons of art are none the less acknowledged. While some there may be who, devoid of sympathy, are incapable of a sense of duty; but neither does their existence affect the foundations of morality. Such pathological deviations from true manhood are merely the halt, the lame and the blind of the world of consciousness; and the anatomist of the mind leaves them aside, as the anatomist of the body would ignore abnormal specimens. « 9

And as there are Pascals and Mozarts, Newtons and Raphaels, in which the innate faculty for science or art needs but a touch to spring into full vigour, and through whom the human race obtains new possibilities of knowledge and new conceptions of beauty; so there have been men of moral genius, to whom we owe ideals of duty and visions of moral perfection, which ordinary mankind could never have attained; though, happily for them, they can feel the beauty of a vision which lay beyond the reach of their dull imaginations, and count life well spent in shaping some faint image of it in the actual world. « 10

As a piece of reflective writing, this is quite admirable; and it will be worth while, I think, to take some trouble to analyse out the technical devices which make it so effective. The secret of the peculiar beauty of this grave and noble passage is to be found, I believe, in the author's use of what, for lack of a better term, I will call "caesura-sentences." Hebrew literature provides the classical type of the caesura-sentence. Open any of the poetical books of the Bible at random, and you will find all the examples you want. "His soul shall dwell at ease; and his seed shall inherit the earth." Or, "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." The whole system of Hebrew poetry was based on the division of each sentence by a caesura into two distinct, but related clauses. Anglo-Saxon verse was written on a somewhat similar principle. The caesura-sentence is common in the work of some of the greatest English prose-writers.

One of them, Sir Thomas Browne, used it constantly. Here, for example, is a characteristic passage from the "Urn Burial": "Darkness and light divide the course of time, and oblivion shares with memory a great part even of our living beings. We slightly remember our felicities, and the smartest strokes of affliction leave but short smart upon us. Sense endureth no extremities, and sorrows destroy us or themselves." It was Browne, I think, who first demonstrated the peculiar suitability of the caesura-sentence for the expression of grave meditations on the nature of things, for the utterance of profound and rather melancholy aphorisms. The clauses into which he divides his sentence are generally short. Sometimes the two clauses are more or less evenly balanced. Sometimes a longer clause is succeeded by a shorter, and the effect is one of finality, of the last word having been spoken. Sometimes the shorter comes first, and the long clause after the caesura seems to open up wide prospects of contemplation and speculative argument. « 11

I could give other examples of the use of caesura-sentences by writers as far apart as Dr. Johnson and De Quincey. But time presses; and besides, these examples would be superfluous. For, as it so happens, Huxley's use of the caesura-sentence is very similar to Browne's. He employs it, in the great majority of cases, when he wants to express himself in meditative aphorisms about the nature of life in general. Thus: "Ignorance is visited as sharply as wilful disobedience—incapacity meets with the same punishment as crime." Again, "Pain and sorrow knock at our doors more loudly than pleasure and happiness; and the prints of their heavy footsteps are less easily effaced." Here is another example, where the clauses are much shorter: "There is but one right, and the possibilities of wrong are infinite." Here yet one more, in which, as the statement made is more complicated, the clauses have to be longer than usual: "It is one of the last lessons one learns from experience, but not the least important, that a heavy tax is levied upon all forms of success; and that failure is one of the commonest disguises assumed by blessings." « 12

In the long passage quoted just now much of that effect of noble and meditative gravity is obtained by the judicious use of caesura-sentences. The tone is set by a sentence that might almost have been penned by Sir Thomas Browne himself: "Justice is founded on the love of one's neighbour; and goodness is a kind of beauty." All the rest of the first paragraph is built up of fundamentally similar caesura-sentences, some almost as brief and simple as the foregoing, some long and complicated, but preserving through their length and complication the peculiar quality (as of a sad and deeply reflective soliloquy, an argument of the mind with its inmost self), the musically pensive essence of the Brownean formula. « 13

Questions

What does the contrast between descriptive writings and philosophical writings in the first paragraph indicate about Aldous Huxley's preferences in factual works? How valid is this interest for you?

2. Is the author interested in the truth of factual prose? Justify your answer by referring to the text.

3. What rhythmical devices does Aldous Huxley find in the philosophical writings? Why does he think them admirable?

4. What are Aldous Huxley's chief criteria? Do you approve or disapprove of them? Why?

5. Judging by the standard of efficiency (see pp. 145-146), how do you rate for literary excellence the passages by (a) Shapiro (p. 97), (b) Sandburg (p. 127), Morison and Commager (p. 121)? How do you rate these as literature using the standard of truth?

6. Are any of the passages mentioned in question 5 "great" prose? Good prose? Justify your answer.

7. What elements of distinction do you find in Edmund Wilson's essay (p. 137)? What passages would you cite to justify your claims?

PART THREE

Problems of the modern world

Introduction

THE selections in Part Three of this book deal with important problems and issues of the world today. You will find that these articles vary in excellence according to any of the evaluative tests which you have learned to apply to factual prose. They embody varied forms; in literary excellence they range from competent to superb; and each group sets forth contrasting or conflicting attitudes. In an important sense, therefore, they typify the range of the factual reading available to anyone interested in current affairs.

A word about the arrangement of these selections: The divisions treat in turn education; language; radio, movies, and literature; religion and ethics; environment; the individual and the state; and the state and the world. Each is introduced by an autobiographical passage which tells of the personal discovery by some writer of the matter dealt with in that group. Some of these contacts are shocking, some are full of delight, some are a mingling of pain and pleasure, one is comical. All, however, show insights into experience of the sort that makes problems important to us as individuals. Thereafter, in each division, authors argue for or explain varying points of view.

Education

IN 1786, Thomas Jefferson wrote, "I think by far the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness." Thomas Jefferson expressed an attitude with which Americans still enthusiastically agree. But there always have been, and probably always will be, arguments about the precise means and ends of "the diffusion of knowledge." The passage which introduces this section tells how Lincoln Steffens, a well-known journalist and commentator on American politics, made a very important personal discovery about education. Thereafter, the section draws together the varying formulas set forth by three opposite-minded educators, Chancellor Robert Maynard Hutchins, Professor John Dewey, and Professor Ernest Earnest. These educators, among them, advocate the chief solutions to the problem being posed by college leaders today.

LINCOLN STEFFENS

I become a student

A personal discovery

IT IS POSSIBLE to get an education at a university. It has been done; not often, but the fact that a proportion, however small, of college students do get a start in interested, methodical study, proves my thesis, and the two personal experiences I have to offer illustrate it and show how to circumvent the faculty, the other students, and the whole college system of mind-fixing. My method might lose a boy his degree, but a degree is not worth so much as the capacity and the drive to learn, and the undergraduate desire for an empty baccalaureate is one of the holds the educational system has on students. Wise students some day will refuse to take degrees, as the best men (in England, for instance) give, but do not themselves accept, titles.

My method [used at the University of California, 1885-1889] was hit on by accident and some instinct. I specialized. With several courses prescribed, I concentrated on the one or two that interested me most, and letting the others go, I worked intensively on my favorites. In my first two years, for example, I worked at English and political economy and read philosophy. At the beginning of my junior year I had several cinches in history. Now I liked history; I had neglected it partly because I rebelled at the way it was taught, as positive knowledge unrelated to politics, art, life, or anything else. The professors gave us chapters out of a few books to read, con, and be quizzed on. Blessed as I was with a "bad memory," I could not commit to it anything that I did not understand and intellectually need. The bare record of the story of man, with names, dates, and irrelative events, bored me. But I had discovered in my readings of literature, philosophy, and political economy that history had light to throw upon unhistorical questions. So I proposed in my junior and senior years to specialize in history, taking all the courses required and those also that I had flunked in. With this in mind I listened attentively to the first introductory talk of Professor William Cary Jones on American constitutional history. He was a dull lecturer, but I noticed that, after telling us what pages of what books we must be prepared in, he mumbled off some other references "for those that may care to dig deeper."

When the rest of the class rushed out into the sunshine, I went up to the professor and, to his surprise, asked for this memorandum. He gave it to me. Up in the library I ran through the required chapters in the two different books, and they differed on several points. Turning to the other authorities,

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I saw that they disagreed on the same facts and also on others. The librarian, appealed to, helped me search the book-shelves till the library closed, and then I called on Professor Jones for more references. He was astonished, invited me in, and began to approve my industry, which astonished me. I was not trying to be a good boy; I was better than that: I was a curious boy. He lent me a couple of his books, and I went off to my club to read them. They only deepened the mystery, clearing up the historical question, but leaving the answer to be dug for and written.

The historians did not know! History was not a science, but a field for research, a field for me, for any young man, to explore, to make discoveries in and write a scientific report about. I was fascinated. As I went on from chapter to chapter, day after day, finding frequently essential differences of opinion and of fact, I saw more and more work to do. In this course, American constitutional history, I hunted far enough to suspect that the Fathers of the Republic who wrote our sacred Constitution of the United States not only did not, but did not want to, establish a democratic government, and I dreamed for a while—as I used as a child to play I was Napoleon or a trapper—I promised myself to write a true history of the making of the American Constitution. I did not do it; that chapter has been done or well begun since by two men: Smith of the University of Washington and Beard (then) of Columbia (afterward forced out, perhaps for this very work). I found other events, men, and epochs waiting for students. In all my other courses, in ancient, in European, and in modern history, the disagreeing authorities carried me back to the need of a fresh search for (or of) the original documents or other clinching testimony. Of course I did well in my classes. The history professor soon knew me as a student and seldom put a question to me except when the class had flunked it. Then Professor Jones would say, "Well, Steffens, tell them about it."

Fine. But vanity wasn't my ruling passion then. What I had was a quickening sense that I was learning a method of studying history and that every chapter of it, from the beginning of the world to the end, is crying out to be rewritten. There was something for Youth to do; these superior old men had not done anything, finally.

Years afterward I came out of the graft prosecution office in San Francisco with Rudolph Spreckels, the banker and backer of the investigation. We were to go somewhere, quick, in his car, and we couldn't. The chauffeur was trying to repair something wrong. Mr. Spreckels smiled; he looked closely at the defective part, and to my silent, wondering inquiry he answered: "Always, when I see something badly done or not done at all, I see an opportunity to make a fortune. I never kick at bad work by my class: there's lots of it and we suffer from it. But our failures and neglects are chances for the young fellows coming along and looking for work."

Nothing is done. Everything in the world remains to be done or done over. "The greatest picture is not yet painted, the greatest play isn't written (not even by Shakespeare), the greatest poem is unsung. There isn't in all the world a perfect railroad, nor a good government, nor a sound law." Physics, mathematics, and especially the most advanced and exact of the sciences, are being fundamentally revised. Chemistry is just becoming a science; psychology, economics, and sociology are awaiting a Darwin, whose work in turn is awaiting an Einstein. If the rah-rah boys in our colleges could be told this, they might not all be such specialists in football, petting parties, and unearned degrees. They are not told it, however; they are told to learn what is known. This is nothing, philosophically speaking.

Somehow or other in my later years at Berkeley, two professors, Moses and Howison, representing opposite schools of thought, got into a controversy, probably about their classes. They brought together in the house of one of them a few of their picked students, with the evident intention of letting us show in conversation how much or how little we had understood of their respective teachings. I don't remember just what the subject was that they threw into the ring, but we wrestled with it till the professors could stand it no longer. Then they broke in, and while we sat silent and highly entertained, they went at each other hard and fast and long. It was after midnight when, the debate over, we went home. I asked the other fellows what they had got out of it, and their answers showed that they had seen nothing but a fine, fair fight. When I laughed, they asked me what I, the D.S.,[1] had seen that was so much more profound.

I said that I had seen two highly-trained, well-educated Masters of Arts and Doctors of Philosophy disagreeing upon every essential point of thought and knowledge. They had all there was of the sciences; and yet they could not find any knowledge upon which they could base an acceptable conclusion. They had no test of knowledge; they didn't know what is and what is not. And they have no test of right and wrong; they have no basis for even an ethics.

Well, and what of it? They asked me that, and that I did not answer. I was stunned by the discovery that it was philosophically true, in a most literal sense, that nothing is known; that it is precisely the foundation that is lacking for science; that all we call knowledge rested upon assumptions which the scientists did not all accept; and that, likewise, there is no scientific reason for saying, for example, that stealing is wrong. In brief: there was no scientific basis for an ethics. No wonder men said one thing and did another; no wonder they could settle nothing either in life or in the academies.

[1] "Damned Stinker," a nickname given by the other students to Steffens because of his activities as commander of the cadet corps in the military department.

I could hardly believe this. Maybe these professors, whom I greatly respected, did not know it all. I read the books over again with a fresh eye, with real interest, and I could see that, as in history, so in other branches of knowledge, everything was in the air. And I was glad of it. Rebel though I was, I had got the religion of scholarship and science; I was in awe of the authorities in the academic world. It was a release to feel my worship cool and pass. But I could not be sure. I must go elsewhere, see and hear other professors, men these California professors quoted and looked up to as their high priests. I decided to go as a student to Europe when I was through with Berkeley, and I would start with the German universities.

My father listened to my plan, and he was disappointed. He had hoped I would succeed him in his business; it was for that that he was staying in it. When I said that, whatever I might do, I would never go into business, he said, rather sadly, that he would sell out his interest and retire. And he did soon after our talk. But he wanted me to stay home and, to keep me, offered to buy an interest in a certain San Francisco daily paper. He had evidently had this in mind for some time. I had always done some writing, verse at the poetical age of puberty, then a novel which my mother alone treasured. Journalism was the business for a boy who liked to write, he thought, and he said I had often spoken of a newspaper as my ambition. No doubt I had in the intervals between my campaigns as Napoleon. But no more. I was now going to be a scientist, a philosopher. He sighed; he thought it over, and with the approval of my mother, who was for every sort of education, he gave his consent.

ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS

The autobiography of an uneducated man

I WAS BORN in the usual way forty-three years ago and brought up in a way that was not unusual for persons born at that time. We had morning prayers with a Bible reading every day. We went to church twice on Sunday. The result of the first is that I was amazed three weeks ago when in a class I was teaching I found a senior at the University of Chicago who had never heard of Joshua. The result of the second is that it is very hard for me to go to church now and that I find myself singing, humming, or moaning third-

From *Education for Freedom* by Robert M. Hutchins, 1943. Reprinted by permission of the Louisiana State University Press.

rate hymns like "Blest Be the Tie That Binds" while shaving, while waiting on the platform to make a speech, or in other moments of abstraction or crisis.

We had at that time many advantages that have been denied to college students in recent years, but that may be restored to their successors. We had no radios, and for all practical purposes no automobiles, no movies, and no slick-paper magazines. We had to entertain ourselves. We could not by turning a small knob or paying a small fee get somebody else to do it for us. It never occurred to us that unless we could go somewhere or do something our lives were empty. We had nowhere to go, and no way to get there. Our recreations were limited to two: reading and physical exercise. The first meant reading anything you could lay your hands on. The second meant playing tennis.

You will notice that the circumstances under which I was brought up gave me some knowledge of one great book, the Bible, and the habit of reading. The habit of physical exercise I was fortunately forced to abandon at an early date. You will notice, too, that the educational system had nothing to do with any of these accomplishments or habits. I do not remember that I ever thought about being educated at all. I thought of getting through school. This, as I recall it, was a business of passing examinations and meeting requirements, all of which were meaningless to me but presumably had some meaning to those who had me in their power. I have no doubt that the Latin and Greek I studied did me good. All I can say is that I was not aware of it at the time. Nor did I have any idea of the particular kind of good it was intended to do me. Since I had got the habit of reading at home, I was perfectly willing to read anything anybody gave me. Apart from a few plays of Shakespeare nobody gave me anything good to read until I was a sophomore in college. Then I was allowed to examine the grammar and philology of the *Apology* of Socrates in a Greek course. And since I had had an unusual amount of German, I was permitted to study *Faust*.

My father once happened to remark to me that he had never liked mathematics. Since I admired my father very much, it became a point of honor with me not to like mathematics either. I finally squeezed through Solid Geometry. But when, at the age of sixteen, I entered Oberlin College, I found that the authorities felt that one hard course was all anybody ought to be asked to carry. You could take either mathematics or Greek. Of course if you took Greek you were allowed to drop Latin. I did not hesitate a moment. Languages were pie for me. It would have been unfilial to take mathematics. I took Greek, and have never seen a mathematics book since. I have been permitted to glory in the possession of an unmathematical mind.

My scientific attainments were of the same order. I had a course in physics in prep school. Every Oberlin student had to take one course in science,

because every Oberlin student had to take one course in everything—in everything, that is, except Greek and mathematics. After I had blown up all the retorts in the chemistry laboratory doing the Marsh test for arsenic, the chemistry teacher was glad to give me a passing grade and let me go.

My philosophical attainments were such as may be derived from a ten weeks' course in the History of Philosophy. I do not remember anything about the course except that the book was green and that it contained pictures of Plato and Aristotle. I learned later that the pictures were wholly imaginary representations of these writers. I have some reason to believe that the contents of the books bore the same relation to their doctrines.

So I arrived at the age of eighteen and the end of my sophomore year. My formal education had given me no understanding of science, mathematics, or philosophy. It had added almost nothing to my knowledge of literature. I had some facility with languages, but today I cannot read Greek or Latin except by guesswork. What is perhaps more important, I had no idea what I was doing or why. My father was a minister and a professor. The sons of ministers and the sons of professors were supposed to go to college. College was a lot of courses. You toiled your way through those which were required and for the rest wandered around taking those that seemed most entertaining. The days of the week and the hours of the day at which courses were offered were perhaps the most important factor in determining the student's course of study.

I spent the next two years in the Army. Here I developed some knowledge of French and Italian. I learned to roll cigarettes, to blow rings, and to swear. I discovered that there was a world far from Oberlin, Ohio, devoted to wine, women, and song; but I was too well brought up even to sing.

The horrors of war are all that they are supposed to be. They are even worse; for the worst horror can never be written about or communicated. It is the frightful monotony and boredom which is the lot of the private with nothing to think about. Since my education had given me nothing to think about, I devoted myself, as the alternative to suicide, to the mastery of all the arts implied in the verb "to soldier." I learned to protract the performance of any task so that I would not be asked to do another. By the end of the war I could give the impression that I was busy digging a ditch without putting my pick into the ground all day. I have found this training very useful in my present capacity. But on the whole, aside from the physiological benefits conferred upon me by a regular, outdoor life, I write off my years in the Army as a complete blank. The arts of soldiering, at least at the buck-private level, are not liberal arts. The manual of arms is not a great book.

When the war was over, I went to Yale. I thought I would study history, because I could not study mathematics, science, or philosophy; and history

was about all there was left. I found that the Yale history department was on sabbatical leave. But I found, too, that you could take your senior year in the Law School with credit for the bachelor's degree. So I decided to stay two years in the Yale College doing all of my last year's work in the Law School.

Yale was dissatisfied with my year of blowing up retorts in the Oberlin chemistry laboratory. Yale said I had to take another science; any science would do. Discussion with my friends revealed the fact that the elementary course in biology was not considered difficult even for people like me. I took that and spent a good deal of time in the laboratory cutting up frogs. I don't know why. I can tell you nothing now about the inside of a frog. In addition to the laboratory we had lectures. All I remember about them is that the lecturer lectured with his eyes closed. He was the leading expert in the country on the paramecium. We all believed that he lectured with his eyes closed because he had to stay up all night watching the paramecia reproduce. Beyond this experience Yale imposed no requirements on me, and I wandered aimlessly around until senior year.

In that year I did all my work in the Law School, except that I had to obey a regulation of obscure origin and purpose which compelled every Yale College student working in the Law School to take one two-hour course in the College. I took a two-hour course in American Literature because it was the only two-hour course in the College which came at twelve o'clock. A special advantage of this course was that the instructor, who was much in demand as a lecturer to popular audiences, often had to leave at 12:20 to make the 12:29 for New York.

I see now that my formal education began in the Law School. My formal education began, that is, at the age of twenty-one. I do not mean to say that I knew then that I was getting an education. I am sure the professors did not know they were giving me one. They would have been shocked at such an insinuation. They thought they were teaching me law. They did not teach me any law. But they did something far more important: they introduced me to the liberal arts.

It is sad but true that the only place in an American university where the student is taught to read, write, and speak is the law school. The principal, if not the sole, merit of the case method of instruction is that the student is compelled to read accurately and carefully, to state accurately and carefully the meaning of what he has read, to criticize the reasoning of opposing cases, and to write very extended examinations in which the same standards of accuracy, care, and criticism are imposed. It is too bad that this experience is limited to very few students and that those few arrive at the stage where they may avail themselves of it at about age twenty-two. It is unfortunate

that the teachers have no training in the liberal arts as such. The whole thing is on a rough-and-ready basis, but it is grammar, rhetoric, and logic just the same, and a good deal better than none at all.

One may regret, too, that the materials upon which these disciplines are employed are no more significant than they are. No case book is a great book. Not more than two or three judges in the history of Anglo-American law have been great writers. One who is immersed long enough in the turgidities of some of the masters of the split infinitive who have graced the American bench may eventually come to write like them.

One may regret as well that no serious attempt is made in the law schools to have the student learn anything about the intellectual history of the intellectual content of the law. At only one law school that I know of is it thought important to connect the law with ethics and politics. In most law schools there is a course in Jurisprudence. At Yale in my day it was an elective one-semester course in the last year, and was ordinarily taken by about ten students. Still, the Yale Law School did begin my formal education. Though it was too little and too late, it was something, and I shall always be grateful for it.

After I graduated from college and ended my first year of law I took a year and a half off and taught English and History in a preparatory school. This continued my education in the liberal arts. I did not learn any history, because the school was solely interested in getting boys through the College Board Examinations. We taught from textbooks, usually the most compact we could find, for we were reasonably sure that if the boys had memorized what was in the textbook they could pass the examinations. We did not allow them to read anything except the textbook for fear of confusing their minds.

But in teaching, and especially in teaching English Composition, I discovered that there were rules of reading, writing, and speaking, and that it was worthwhile to learn them, and even to try to teach them. I came to suspect, for the first time, that my teachers in school had had something in mind. I began to fall into a dangerous heresy, the heresy that since the best way to learn something is to teach it, the only way to learn anything is to teach it. I am sure that in what is called "the curriculum" of the conventional school, college, or university the only people who are getting an education are the teachers. They work in more or less coherent, if somewhat narrow, fields, and they work in more or less intelligible ways. The student, on the other hand, works through a multifarious collection of disconnected courses in such a way that the realms of knowledge are likely to become less and less intelligible as he proceeds. In such an institution the only way to learn anything is to teach it. The difficulty with this procedure is that in the

teacher's early years, at least, it is likely to make the education of his students even worse than it would otherwise have been.

After continuing my education in the liberal arts in this rather unpleasant and inefficient way, I returned to Yale at the age of twenty-three, became an officer of the University, and finished my law work out of hours. Just before I was about to graduate from the Law School at the age of twenty-six, a man who was scheduled to teach in the School that summer got appendicitis, and a substitute had to be found. Since I was already on the pay roll and everybody else was out of town, I became a member of the faculty of the Law School.

Here I continued my education in the liberal arts, this time unconsciously, for I was no more aware than the rest of the faculty that the liberal arts were what we were teaching. At the end of my first year of this the man who was teaching the law of Evidence resigned, and, because of my unusual qualifications, I was put in his place. My qualifications were that I had never studied the subject, in or out of law school, and that I knew nothing of the disciplines on which the law of Evidence is founded, namely psychology and logic.

The law of Evidence bothered me. I couldn't understand what made it go. There is a rule, for example, that evidence of flight from the scene of a crime is admissible as tending to show guilt. After painful research the only foundation I could find for this was the statement, emanating, I grant, from the very highest source, that the wicked flee when no man pursueth, but the righteous are as bold as a lion.

There is a rule which admits, as worthy the attention of the jury, utterances made immediately after a blow on the head, or after any sudden shock, such as having somebody say "boo" to you. As far as I could discover, this doctrine rested on the psychological principle, long held incontrovertible, that a blow on the head or having somebody say "boo" to him prevents even the habitual liar, momentarily but effectually, from indulging in the practice of his art. Since I was supposed to lead my students to the knowledge of what the rules ought to be, and not merely of what they were, I wanted to find out whether the wicked really do flee when no man pursueth, whether the righteous really are as bold as a lion, and whether you really can startle a liar out of his disregard for the truth.

It was obviously impossible to conduct controlled experiments on these interesting questions. I could not think about them, because I had had no education. The psychologists and logicians I met could not think about them, because they had had no education either. I could think about legal problems as legal. They could think about psychological problems as psychological. I didn't know how to think about legal problems as psycho-

logical; they didn't know how to think about psychological problems as legal. Finally, I heard that there was a young psychologist, logician, and philosopher at Columbia by the name of Adler who was actually examining the bible of all Evidence teachers, the seven volumes of *Wigmore on Evidence*. A man who was willing to make such sacrifices deserved investigation, and I got in touch with Mr. Adler right away.

I found that Mr. Adler was just as uneducated as I was, but that he had begun to get over it, and to do so in a way that struck me as very odd. He had been teaching for several years in John Erskine's Honors Course in the Great Books at Columbia. I paid no attention and went on trying to find out how I could put a stopwatch on the return of power to lie after a blow on the head.

I now transport you forward four years, from 1925—to 1929. I am President of the University of Chicago. Mr. Adler is a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago. We had fled from New Haven and New York, and we must have been guilty, for we had fled when I assure you no man had any idea of pursuing us. By this time Mr. Adler had had four more years with the Great Books at Columbia. He looked on me, my work, my education, and my prospects and found us not good. He had discovered that merely reading was not enough. He had found out that the usefulness of reading was some way related to the excellence of what was read and the plan for reading it. I knew that reading was a good thing, but had hitherto been under the impression that it didn't make any difference what you read or how it was related to anything else you read. I had arrived at the age of thirty, you will remember, with some knowledge of the Bible, of Shakespeare, of *Faust*, of one dialogue of Plato, and of the opinions of many semi-literate and a few literate judges, and that was about all. Mr. Adler further represented to me that the sole reading matter of university presidents was the telephone book. He intimated that unless I did something drastic I would close my educational career a wholly uneducated man. He broadly hinted that the president of an educational institution ought to have some education. For two years we discussed these matters, and then, at the age of thirty-two, my education began in earnest.

For eleven years we have taught the Great Books in various parts of the University: in University High School, in the College, in the Humanities Division, in the Law School, in the Department of Education, in University College, the extension division, four hours a week three quarters of the year. All this and the preparation for it has had to be carried on between board meetings, faculty meetings, committee meetings, conferences, trips, speeches, money-raising efforts, and attempts to abolish football, to award the B.A. at the end of the sophomore year, and otherwise to wreck the educational sys-

tem. Thanks to the kind co-operation of the students, I have made some progress with my education. In my more optimistic moments I flatter myself that I have arrived at about the stage which I think the American sophomore should have reached. But this is an exaggeration. The American sophomore, to qualify for the bachelor's degree, should not be ignorant of mathematics and science.

Now what I want to know is why I should have had to wait until age forty-three to get an education somewhat worse than that which any sophomore ought to have. The liberal arts are the arts of freedom. To be free a man must understand the tradition in which he lives. A great book is one which yields up through the liberal arts a clear and important understanding of our tradition. An education which consisted of the liberal arts as understood through great books and of great books understood through the liberal arts would be one and the only one which would enable us to comprehend the tradition in which we live. It must follow that if we want to educate our students for freedom, we must educate them in the liberal arts and in the great books. And this education we must give them, not by the age of forty-three, but by the time they are eighteen, or at the latest twenty.

We have been so preoccupied with trying to find out how to teach everybody to read anything that we have forgotten the importance of what is read. Yet it is obvious that if we succeeded in teaching everybody to read, and everybody read nothing but pulp magazines, obscene literature, and *Mein Kampf*, the last state of the nation would be worse than the first. Literacy is not enough.

The common answer is that the great books are too difficult for the modern pupil. All I can say is that it is amazing how the number of too difficult books has increased in recent years. The books that are now too difficult for candidates for the doctorate were the regular fare of grammar-school boys in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Most of the great books of the world were written for ordinary people, not for professors alone. Mr. Adler and I have found that the books are more rather than less effective the younger the students are. Students in University High School have never heard that these books are too hard for them and that they shouldn't read them. They have not had time to get as miseducated as their elders. They read the books and like them because they think they are good books about important matters. The experience at St. John's College, in the Humanities General Course at Columbia, in the General Courses of the College of the University of Chicago, and the University of Chicago College course known as Reading, Writing, and Criticism is the same.

Ask any foreign scholar you meet what he thinks about American students. He will tell you that they are eager and able to learn, that they will respond

to the best that is offered them, but that they are miserably trained and dreadfully unenlightened. If you put these two statements together you can come to only one conclusion, and that is that it is not the inadequacy of the students but the inadequacy of the environment and the irresolution of teachers that is responsible for the shortcomings of American education.

So Quintilian said: "For there is absolutely no foundation for the complaint that but few men have the power to take in the knowledge that is imparted to them, and that the majority are so slow of understanding that education is a waste of time and labor. On the contrary you will find that most are quick to reason and ready to learn. Reasoning comes as naturally to man as flying to birds, speed to horses and ferocity to beasts of prey: our minds are endowed by nature with such activity and sagacity that the soul is believed to proceed from heaven. Those who are dull and unteachable are as abnormal as prodigious births and monstrosities, and are but few in number. A proof of what I say is to be found in the fact that boys commonly show promise of many accomplishments, and when such promise dies away as they grow up, this is plainly due not to the failure of natural gifts, but to lack of the requisite care. But, it will be urged, there are degrees of talent. Undoubtedly, I reply, and there will be a corresponding variation in actual accomplishment: but that there are any who gain nothing from education, I absolutely deny."

When we remember that only a little more than 1500 years ago the ancestors of most of us, many of them painted blue, were roaming the trackless forests of Caledonia, Britain, Germany, and transalpine Gaul, despised by the civilized citizens of Rome and Antioch, interested, in the intervals of rapine, only in deep drinking and high gaming; savage, barbarous, cruel, and illiterate, we may reflect with awe and expectation on the potentialities of our race. When we remember, too, that it is only a little more than fifty years ago that the "average man" began to have the chance to get an education, we must recognize that it is too early to despair of him.

The President of Dalhousie has correctly said, "Over most of Europe the books and monuments have been destroyed and bombed. To destroy European civilization in America you do not need to burn its records in a single fire. Leave those records unread for a few generations and the effect will be the same."

The alternatives before us are clear. Either we must abandon the ideal of freedom or we must educate our people for freedom. If an education in the liberal arts and in the great books is the education for freedom, then we must make the attempt to give this education to all our citizens. And since it is a long job, and one upon which the fate of our country in war and peace may depend, we shall have to start now.

JOHN DEWEY · The democratic faith and education

NOT EVEN THE MOST far-seeing of men could have predicted, no longer ago than fifty years, the course events have taken. The expectations that were entertained by men of generous outlook are in fact chiefly notable in that the actual course of events has moved, and with violence, in the opposite direction. The ardent and hopeful social idealist of the last century or so has been proved so wrong that a reaction to the opposite extreme has taken place. A recent writer has even proposed a confraternity of pessimists who should live together in some sort of social oasis. It is a fairly easy matter to list the articles of that old faith which, from the standpoint of today, have been tragically frustrated.

The first article on the list had to do with the prospects of the abolition of war. It was held that the revolution which was taking place in commerce and communication would break down the barriers which had kept the peoples of the earth alien and hostile and would create a state of interdependence which in time would insure lasting peace. Only an extreme pessimist ventured to suggest that interdependence might multiply points of friction and conflict.

Another item of that creed was the belief that a general development of enlightenment and rationality was bound to follow the increase in knowledge and the diffusion which would result from the revolution in science that was taking place. Since it had long been held that rationality and freedom were intimately allied, it was held that the movement toward democratic institutions and popular government which had produced in succession the British, American, and French Revolutions was bound to spread until freedom and equality were the foundations of political government in every country of the globe.

A time of general ignorance and popular unenlightenment and a time of despotic and oppressive governmental rule were taken to be practically synonymous. Hence the third article of faith. There was a general belief among social philosophers that governmental activities were necessarily more or less oppressive; that governmental action tended to be an artificial interference with the operation of natural laws. Consequently the spread of enlightenment and democratic institutions would produce a gradual but assured withering away of the powers of the political state. Freedom was supposed to be so deeply rooted in the very nature of men that given the spread of rational enlightenment it would take care of itself with only a minimum of political action confined to insuring external police order.

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The other article of faith to be mentioned was the general belief that the vast, the almost incalculable, increase in productivity resulting from the industrial revolution was bound to raise the general standard of living to a point where extreme poverty would be practically eliminated. It was believed that the opportunity to lead a decent, self-respecting, because self-sufficient, economic life would be assured to everyone who was physically and morally normal.

The course of events culminating in the present situation suffice to show without any elaborate argument how grievously these generous expectations have been disappointed. Instead of universal peace, there are two wars worldwide in extent and destructive beyond anything known in all history. Instead of uniform and steady growth of democratic freedom and equality, we have the rise of powerful totalitarian states with thorough-going suppression of liberty of belief and expression, outdoing the most despotic states of previous history. We have an actual growth in importance and range of governmental action in legislation and administration as necessary means of rendering freedom on the part of the many an assured actual fact. Instead of promotion of economic security and movement toward the elimination of poverty, we have had a great increase in the extent and the intensity of industrial crises with great increase of inability of workers to find employment. Social instability has reached a point that may portend revolution if it goes on unchecked.

Externally it looks as if the pessimists had the best of the case. But before we reach a conclusion on that point, we have to inquire concerning the solidity of the premise upon which the idealistic optimists rested their case. This principle was that the desirable goals held in view were to be accomplished by a complex of forces to which in their entirety the name "Nature" was given. In practical effect, acceptance of this principle was equivalent to adoption of a policy of drift as far as human intelligence and effort were concerned. No conclusion is warranted until we have inquired how far failure and frustration are consequences of putting our trust in a policy of drift; a policy of letting "George" in the shape of Nature and Natural Law do the work which only human intelligence and effort could possibly accomplish. No conclusion can be reached until we have considered an alternative: What is likely to happen if we recognize that the responsibility for creating a state of peace internationally, and of freedom and economic security internally, has to be carried by deliberate cooperative human effort? Technically speaking the policy known as *Laissez-faire* is one of limited application. But its limited and technical significance is one instance of a manifestation of widespread trust in the ability of impersonal forces, popularly called Nature, to do a work that has in fact to be done by human insight, foresight, and purposeful planning.

Not all the men of the earlier period were of the idealistic type. The idealistic philosophy was a positive factor in permitting those who prided themselves upon being realistic to turn events so as to produce consequences dictated by their own private and class advantage. The failure of cooperative and collective intelligence and effort to intervene was an invitation to immediate short-term intervention by those who had an eye to their own profit. The consequences were wholesale destruction and waste of natural resources, increase of social instability, and mortgaging of the future to a transitory and brief present of so-called prosperity. If "idealists" were misguided in what they failed to do, "realists" were wrong in what they did. If the former erred in supposing that the drift (called by them progress or evolution) was inevitably toward the better, the latter were more actively harmful because their insistence upon trusting to natural laws was definitely in the interest of personal and class profit.

The omitted premise in the case of both groups is the fact that neither science nor technology is an impersonal cosmic force. They operate only in the medium of human desire, foresight, aim, and effort. Science and technology are transactions in which man and nature work together and in which the human factor is that directly open to modification and direction. That man takes part along with physical conditions in invention and use of the devices, implements, and machinery of industry and commerce no one would think of denying.

But in practice, if not in so many words, it has been denied that man has any responsibility for the consequences that result from what he invents and employs. This denial is implicit in our widespread refusal to engage in large-scale collective planning. Not a day passes, even in the present crisis, when the whole idea of such planning is not ridiculed as an emanation from the brain of starry-eyed professors or of others equally inept in practical affairs. And all of this in the face of the fact that there is not a successful industrial organization that does not owe its success to persistent planning within a limited field—with an eye to profit—to say nothing of the terribly high price we have paid in the way of insecurity and war for putting our trust in drift.

Refusal to accept responsibility for looking ahead and for planning in matters national and international is based upon refusal to employ in social affairs, in the field of human relations, the methods of observation, interpretation, and test that are matters of course in dealing with physical things, and to which we owe the conquest of physical nature. The net result is a state of imbalance, of profoundly disturbed equilibrium between our physical knowledge and our social-moral knowledge. This lack of harmony is a powerful factor in producing the present crisis with all its tragic features. For physical knowledge and physical technology have far outstripped social

or humane knowledge and human engineering. Our failure to use in matters of direct human concern the scientific methods which have revolutionized physical knowledge has permitted the latter to dominate the social scene.

The change in the physical aspect of the world has gone on so rapidly that there is probably no ground for surprise in the fact that our psychological and moral knowledge has not kept pace. But there is cause for astonishment in the fact that after the catastrophe of war, insecurity, and the threat to democratic institutions have shown the need for new moral and intellectual attitudes and habits that will correspond with the changed state of the world, there should be a definite campaign to make the scientific attitude the scapegoat for present evils, while a return to the beliefs and practices of a prescientific and pretechnological age is urged as the road to our salvation.

II

THE ORGANIZED ATTACK now being made against science and against technology as inherently materialistic and as usurping the place properly held by abstract moral precepts—abstract because divorcing ends from the means by which they must be realized—defines the issue we now have to face. Shall we go backwards or shall we go ahead to discover and put into practice the means by which science and technology shall be made fundamental in the promotion of human welfare? The failure to use scientific methods in creating understanding of human relationships and interests and in planning measures and policies that correspond in human affairs to the technologies in physical use is easily explained in historical terms. The new science began with things at the furthest remove from human affairs, namely with the stars of the heavens. From astronomy the new methods went on to win their victories in physics and chemistry. Still later science was applied in physiological and biological subject-matter. At every stage, the advance met determined resistance from the representatives of established institutions who felt their prestige was bound up with maintenance of old beliefs and found their class-control of others being threatened. In consequence, many workers in science found that the easiest way in which to procure an opportunity to carry on their inquiries was to adopt an attitude of extreme specialization. The effect was equivalent to the position that their methods and conclusions were not and could not be "dangerous," since they had no point of contact with man's serious moral concerns. This position in turn served to perpetuate and confirm the older separation of man as man from the rest of nature and to intensify the split between the "material" and the moral and "ideal."

Thus it has come about that when scientific inquiry began to move from its virtually complete victories in astronomy and physics and its partial victory in the field of living things over into the field of human affairs and

concerns, the interests and institutions that offered resistance to its earlier advance are gathering themselves together for a final attack upon that aspect of science which in truth constitutes its supreme and culminating significance. On the principle that offense is the best defense, respect for science and loyalty to its outlook are attacked as the chief source of all our present social ills. One may read, for example, in current literature such a condescending concession as marks the following passage: "Of course, the scientific attitude, though often leading to such a catastrophe, is not to be condemned," the immediate context showing that the particular "catastrophe" in mind consists of "errors leading to war . . . derived from an incorrect theory of truth." Since these errors are produced by belief in the applicability of scientific method to human as well as physical facts, the remedy, according to this writer, is to abandon "the erroneous application of the methods and results of natural science to the problems of human life."

In three respects the passage is typical of the organized campaign now in active operation. There is first the assertion that such catastrophes as that of the present war are the result of devotion to scientific method and conclusions. The denunciation of "natural" science as applied to human affairs carries, in the second place, the implication that man is outside of and above nature, and the consequent necessity of returning to the medieval prescientific doctrine of a supernatural foundation and outlook in all social and moral subjects. Then thirdly there is the assumption, directly contrary to fact, that the scientific method has at the present time been seriously and systematically applied to the problems of human life.

I dignify the passage quoted by this reference to it because it serves quite as well as a multitude of other passages from reactionaries would to convey a sense of the present issue. It is true that the *results* of natural science have had a large share, for evil as well as for good, in bringing the world to its present pass. But it is equally true that "natural" science has been identified with *physical* science in a sense in which the physical is set over against the human. It is true that the interests and institutions which are now attacking science are just the forces which in behalf of a supernatural center of gravity are those that strive to maintain this tragic split in human affairs. Now the issue, as is becoming clearer every day, is whether we shall go backward or whether we shall go forward toward recognition in theory and practice of the indissoluble unity of the humanistic and the naturalistic.

III

WHAT HAS ALL THIS to do with education? The answer to this question may be gathered from the fact that those who are engaged in assault upon science center their attacks upon the increased attention given by our schools to science and to its application in vocational training. In a world

which is largely what it is today because of science and technology they propose that education should turn its back upon even the degree of recognition science and technology have received. They propose we turn our face to the medievalism in which so-called "liberal" arts were identified with literary arts: a course natural to adopt in an age innocent of knowledge of nature, an age in which the literary arts were the readiest means of rising above barbarism through acquaintance with the achievements of Greek-Roman culture. Their proposal is so remote from the facts of the present world, it involves such a bland ignoring of actualities, that there is a temptation to dismiss it as idle vaporing. But it would be a tragic mistake to take the reactionary assaults so lightly. For they are an expression of just the forces that keep science penned up in a compartment labelled "materialistic and antihuman." They strengthen all the habits and institutions which render that which is morally "ideal" impotent in action and which leave the "material" to operate without humane direction.

Let me return for the moment to my initial statement that the basic error of social idealists was the assumption that something called "natural law" could be trusted, with only incidental cooperation by human beings, to bring about the desired ends. The lesson to be learned is that human attitudes and efforts are the strategic center for promotion of the generous aims of peace among nations; promotion of economic security; the use of political means in order to advance freedom and equality; and the worldwide cause of democratic institutions. Anyone who starts from this premise is bound to see that it carries with it the basic importance of education in creating the habits and the outlook that are able and eager to secure the ends of peace, democracy, and economic stability.

When this is seen, it will also be seen how little has actually been done in our schools to render science and technology active agencies in creating the attitudes and dispositions and in securing the kinds of knowledge that are capable of coping with the problems of men and women today. Externally a great modification has taken place in subjects taught and in methods of teaching them. But when the changes are critically examined it is found that they consist largely in emergency concessions and accommodation to the urgent conditions and issues of the contemporary world. The standards and the controlling methods in education are still mainly those of a prescientific and pretechnological age. This statement will seem to many persons to be exaggerated. But consider the purposes which as a rule still govern instruction in just those subjects that are taken to be decisively "modern," namely science and vocational preparation. Science is taught upon the whole as a body of readymade information and technical skills. It is not

taught as furnishing in its method the pattern for all effective intelligent conduct. It is taught upon the whole not with respect to the way in which it actually enters into human life, and hence as a supremely humanistic subject, but as if it had to do with a world which is "external" to human concerns. It is not presented in connection with the ways in which it actually enters into every aspect and phase of present human life. And it is hardly necessary to add that still less is it taught in connection with what scientific knowledge of human affairs might do in overcoming sheer drift. Scientific method and conclusions will not have gained a fundamentally important place in education until they are seen and treated as supreme agencies in giving direction to collective and cooperative human behavior.

The same sort of thing is to be said about the kind of use now made in education of practical and vocational subjects, so called. The reactionary critics are busy urging that the latter subjects be taught to the masses—who are said to be incapable of rising to the plane of the "intellectual" but who do the useful work which somebody has to do, and who may be taught by vocational education to do it more effectively. This view is of course an open and avowed attempt to return to that dualistic separation of ideas and action, of the "intellectual" and the "practical," of the liberal and servile arts, that marked the feudal age. And this reactionary move in perpetuation of the split from which the world is suffering is offered as a cure, a panacea, not as the social and moral quackery it actually is. As is the case with science, the thing supremely needful is to go forward. And the forward movement in the case of technology as in the case of science is to do away with the chasm which ancient and medieval educational practice and theory set up between the liberal and the vocational, not to treat the void, the hole, constituted by this chasm, as if it were a foundation for the creation of free society.

There is nothing whatever inherent in the occupations that are socially necessary and useful to divide them into those which are "learned" professions and those which are menial, servile, and illiberal. As far as such a separation exists in fact it is an inheritance from the earlier class structure of human relations. It is a denial of democracy. At the very time when an important, perhaps *the* important, problem in education is to fill education having an occupational direction with a genuinely liberal content, we have, believe it or not, a movement, such as is sponsored for example by President Hutchins, to cut vocational training off from any contact with what is liberating by relegating it to special schools devoted to inculcation of technical skills. Inspiring vocational education with a liberal spirit and filling it with a liberal content is not a utopian dream. It is a demonstrated possibility in

schools here and there in which subjects usually labelled "practically useful" are taught charged with scientific understanding and with a sense of the social-moral applications they potentially possess.

IV

If little is said in the foregoing remarks specifically upon the topic of democratic faith, it is because their bearing upon a democratic outlook largely appears upon their very face. Conditions in this country when the democratic philosophy of life and democratic institutions were taking shape were such as to encourage a belief that the latter were so natural to man, so appropriate to his very being, that if they were once established they would tend to maintain themselves. I cannot rehearse here the list of events that have given this naïve faith a shock. They are contained in every deliberate attack upon democracy and in every expression of cynicism about its past failures and pessimism about its future—attacks and expressions which have to be taken seriously if they are looked at as signs of trying to establish democracy as an end in separation from the concrete means upon which the end depends.

Democracy is not an easy road to take and follow. On the contrary, it is as far as its realization is concerned in the complex conditions of the contemporary world a supremely difficult one. Upon the whole we are entitled to take courage from the fact that it has worked as well as it has done. But to this courage we must add, if our courage is to be intelligent rather than blind, the fact that successful maintenance of democracy demands the utmost in use of the best available methods to procure a social knowledge that is reasonably commensurate with our physical knowledge, and the invention and use of forms of social engineering reasonably commensurate with our technological abilities in physical affairs.

This then is the task indicated. It is, if we employ large terms, to humanize science. This task in the concrete cannot be accomplished save as the fruit of science, which is named technology, is also humanized. And the task can be executed in the concrete only as it is broken up into vital applications of intelligence in a multitude of fields to a vast diversity of problems so that science and technology may be rendered servants of the democratic hope and faith. The cause is capable of inspiring loyalty in thought and deed. But there has to be joined to aspiration and effort the formation of free, wide-ranging, trained attitudes of observation and understanding such as incorporate within themselves, as a matter so habitual as to be unconscious, the vital principles of scientific method. In this achievement science, education, and the democratic cause meet as one. May we be equal to the occasion. For it is our human problem and if a solution is found it will be through the medium of human desire, human understanding, and human endeavor.

ERNEST EARNEST

Even A.B.'s must eat

THERE IS CONSIDERABLE current alarm about the future of the Liberal Arts College. Naturally this emotion is felt most keenly by persons whose livelihood depends upon the continued existence of that type of institution. They usually defend their bread and butter by eloquent pleas for the non-material values. Thus the many articles in academic journals are likely to be labeled "A Defense of Humanism," or "The Humanities and the Opportunity of Peace." And the discussions are filled with phrases like: "stimulating . . . a critical and aesthetic taste"; "an appreciative love for what is truly and enduringly beautiful"; "teach hope, love, and courage"; "recognize or retrieve those eternal truths which are above the stream of evolution and change"; ". . . true education is but a continuous process of re-examining, re-appraising, and re-vitalizing the interrelationships of existence." And of course there is always the old stand-by: education for democracy.

Now I have no quarrel with any or all of these objectives except, perhaps, with their vagueness. There is always the suspicion that when a use cannot be found for something, it will be asserted to have "higher values"—like an impractical coffee urn kept in the china closet as an *objet d'art.* Our Victorian ancestors were more prone to that sort of thing than we are—though the whatnot has come back in decorator-designed interiors. The magazines are beginning to speak of "the revival of the style of a more leisurely and comfortable age." There is a suspicious parallel between the advertising of Victorian reproductions of furniture and the arguments of the humanists. Please don't ask for a definition of humanist or humanity; there seems to be no agreement on that point. A working definition might be *humanist:* a person who teaches some subject other than science or a vocation; and *humanity:* a subject that students must be *required* to take along with the ones they really want.

Now I, for one, do not believe that a college course in Lunchroom Management or Clothing Selection is preferable to one in aesthetics or Greek history. I am not at all sure that the first two are the more practical. But I do not believe that any number of eloquent pleas for recapturing the "lost soul" of society is going to entice students into the Colleges of Liberal Arts. In fact any students who are attracted by the grandiloquent phrases are likely to be aesthetes, impractical idealists, or potential school teachers. Boys and girls from wealthy homes may come also, but they come for very practical reasons: four years of pleasant life, social polish, and a certificate

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of culture useful in certain social circles. As a rule the Liberal Arts College is very efficient in supplying these requirements. Certainly more efficient than a school offering training in lunchroom management or methods of teaching shorthand.

It is quite another matter to educate one to appreciate "what is truly and enduringly beautiful" or to "recognize or retrieve . . . eternal truths." Too often it is assumed that these things can be taught as entities unrelated to other considerations—that there is a world in which morality, truth, and beauty exist apart from the ethics of business, or the truth of a scientific or social theory, or the beauty of a particular poem or office building.

The advocates of liberal arts training will deny this. They will argue that a knowledge of philosophy helps one to understand the values in contemporary life (or more often the alleged lack of values); that mathematics trains the accurate use of the reason (an idea long since exploded by psychologists); that history helps in an understanding of today's politics; and that literature and art give one standards of judgment to apply to contemporary literature or art, or that they do something or other for one's personality—something very fine, of course.

Students often pay lip service to these doctrines: they say that they want college to give them "culture." But that is almost always a secondary aim. The vast majority of students are in college to become engineers, accountants, physicians, social workers, teachers—or even chiropodists and undertakers. If at the same time they can acquire the mystic quality called culture by taking a few courses in language, history, and literature they are willing to spare a little time from their real purpose. But few pre-meds will elect Fine Arts I if it conflicts with Biology 127; and fewer civil engineers will study Chaucer when they can get Strength of Materials instead.

All this may be simply an indication of mistaken values, the symptoms of a materialistic national culture, the worship of false gods. I believe that it is rather an indication of faulty methods. Two deeply religious men may both desire the kingdom of heaven; one may try to reach it by praying continually, wearing a hair shirt, and refusing to bathe; the other by ministering to the sick. It is quite possible that the second man will find very little time to examine his soul or clarify points of theology. He therefore spends less time on his "specialty" than does the ascetic, but he may be more fully obtaining his objective.

The analogy may apply to a liberal education. It is quite possible that extreme specialization is not the best preparation for most professions or intellectual occupations. It is impossible in a paper of this sort to support this point of view in detail. But it is a point of view almost universal among believers in a liberal education.

However, I venture upon two assertions: one, that the liberal arts colleges fail to implement this point of view; and two, that they fail to demonstrate its validity. To put the case more specifically: I believe that the liberal arts college fails to relate its work to the world the students must face, and that it fails to make the student understand its aims. In colloquial phraseology, the liberal arts college high-hats the vocational phases of education, and it fails to sell itself to its customers.

Almost all the defenders of a liberal education use a tone of moral superiority. The phrases quoted at the beginning of this essay suggest an out-of-this-world point of view. Yet if the liberal arts college is to survive, it must function in this world and must make that function clear. In a democratic society, the primary function demanded of a college or university is that it prepare its students to earn a living. The point of view stated by Jacques Barzun: "Vocational training has nothing to do with education," implies that education is only for a leisure class or a scholarly elite. Only at their peril can liberal arts colleges cater to a Brahmin caste. Most students and parents are certainly not going to be less materialistic about their bread and butter than are the defenders of a liberal education.

It may seem that this premise denies any possibility of preserving the liberal arts. Not at all. I have already pointed out that the arts colleges insist on the superior value of their training as preparation for an intellectual vocation or profession. I agree with this point of view. In the rapidly changing world of business, technology, and social order, a narrowly specialized training is often obsolete before the student graduates. Many of my former college mates are in fields of activity which did not exist twenty years ago. No vocational training then offered could have helped them. A contemporary radio news analyst would certainly find his college work in European history more valuable than his course in News Story Write-Up. History, language, literature, philosophy have vocational value. More obvious is the vocational aspect of social science and psychology. All these are elements in a liberal arts program.

Specifically I suggest that the liberal arts colleges integrate their programs with vocational fields. For instance: what courses should be elected by a student interested in entering the diplomatic field, or social security, or a host of other governmental activities for which the A.B. course is the best preparation? Few faculty advisers have this information. Students themselves are often unaware that certain of these fields exist; more have no idea how to prepare for them. So, instead, they take a degree in marketing or dentistry or advertising—anything with a label indicating possible usefulness. Students are often amazed to find that they can enter law school with an A.B. in history and literature instead of a B.S. in "pre-law."

This brings us to my second recommendation: a better publicizing of the vocational usefulness of a liberal arts education. Bulletins and catalogs of vocational schools often have much to say about opportunities in the fields they train for; those of liberal arts colleges are extremely reticent on this point. Except for occasional listings of requirements for medical school or teaching, there is almost no discussion of so crass a topic as preparing for a job. For instance, in a recent study of training for the field of social security, Karl de Schweinitz states that the best possible background is the academic discipline and a cultural education. It is significant that this study was made for the Social Security Board and not under the auspices of the colleges.

All this may seem to imply that the liberal arts colleges should turn themselves into vocational schools. The answer is that they are vocational schools and always have been. Harvard College was founded specifically to train ministers of the gospel. The classical education of the nineteenth century was regarded as the best possible training for the law and the church. Today students in liberal arts colleges are preparing to become biologists, psychologists, sociologists, teachers, and lawyers.

What I suggest, then, is not a revision of the curriculum: no addition of gadget courses to attract uncritical customers. It is simply that the colleges accept the fact that they have a vocational function and that they exercise that function intelligently. That means vocational guidance for students, not in a haphazard way, but by trained counselors with adequate budgets for research; it means well run placement bureaus; it means making vocational information readily available to students; and it means a constant and intelligent study of the changing needs of the community. It is shortsighted if not unethical to turn out thousands more pre-meds than the medical schools will accept; to produce English teachers far in excess of demand, and at the same time to ignore fields where educated persons are desperately needed.

But what happens to "culture" in all this? Does it mean that we forget all about the permanently true and beautiful? My answer is that "culture" is always a by-product of something else. Shakespeare's plays are now studied chiefly for their cultural value; they were written to attract patrons to the box office. Architects have always designed their buildings for specific utilitarian purposes. Stiegel produced his famous glass for a market; he went bankrupt when he overestimated the market. The arts have always been closely linked with the business of living. It is only when they become art for art's sake that they wither. Similarly, culture for culture's sake becomes exotic and unreal. If literature and history and philosophy cannot be related to the life of the community, they have no very important values. In other words, if a psychologist is not a better psychologist because he knows some-

thing about the development of human thought and the expression of human nature through art, then there is little hope for philosophy, history, and literature.

Many of the defenders of a liberal education emphasize its broader social values: the making of intelligent citizens; the training for life rather than making a living; the understanding of ethical and moral values. But a member of a democratic society functions in that society chiefly through his occupation. A man's contribution to his age is above all his contribution as a physician, a manufacturer, a chemist, a writer, a publisher. A physician's knowledge or lack of knowledge of sociology will appear during dinner table conversations and at the polls. But it is vastly more important in his work as a physician and member of a medical association. It is there that his knowledge or lack of knowledge chiefly affects society.

Culture does not function in a vacuum. The "lost soul" of society will be found not in college courses, but in the market place and the laboratory and the court of law. The liberal arts college cannot educate some sort of mythical men of vision; it must educate chemists and sociologists and journalists with vision. When it fully accepts this function, it will no longer be troubled by falling enrollments. The professors can cease to worry about their own bread and butter when they recognize that even an A.B. must eat.

Language

In "Word Torture," Robert Benchley tells humorously of the experiences we all have had in trying to cope with language. How can one decide, after all, what words, what sentence forms are best? What should one aim at in evaluating the expressions of others or in setting forth his own thoughts? These are questions which are dealt with in the four pieces which follow. Two passages deal with the problem of usage—one by two famous British authorities, the Fowlers ("Slang"), and the other by H. L. Mencken ("The Hallmarks of American"). You will find that the attitudes clash violently. The final two selections deal with the problem of expression. In the first, "Sentences and Gadgets of Language," Rudolf Flesch gives some rules for producing a "readable kind of writing." In the second, Somerset Maugham, a popular critic, novelist, and playwright, who has thought much about his craft, tells us what he came to believe were the important achievements of a good writer. Supplementary considerations of language include: "Emerson's Prose," page 147; "Ernie Pyle," page 149; and "T. H. Huxley as a Literary Man," page 151.

ROBERT BENCHLEY Word torture

A personal tribulation

In his column a short time ago Mr. O. O. McIntyre asked who could tell, without looking it up, the present tense of the verb of which "wrought" is the past participle. That was, let us say, of a Thursday. Today my last finger-nail went.

At first I thought that it was so easy that I passed it by. But, somewhere in the back of that shaggy-maned head of mine, a mischievous little voice said: "All right—what is it?"

"What is what?" I asked, stalling.

"You know very well what the question was. What is the present tense of the verb from which the word 'wrought' comes?"

I started out with a rush. "I *wright*," I fairly screamed. Then, a little lower: "I wrught." Then, very low: "I wrouft." Then silence.

From that day until now I have been muttering to myself: "I wright—I wraft—I wronjst. You wruft—he wragst—we wrinjsen." I'll be darned if I'll look it up, and it looks now as if I'll be incarcerated before I get it.

People hear me murmuring and ask me what I am saying.

"I wrujhst," is all that I can say in reply.

"I know," they say, "but what were you *saying* just now?"

"I wringst."

This gets me nowhere.

While I am working on it, however, and just before the boys come to get me to take me to the laughing academy, I will ask Mr. McIntyre if he can help me out on something that has almost the same possibilities for brain seepage. And no fair looking *this* up, either.

What is a man who lives in Flanders and speaks Flemish? A Flem? A Flan? A Floom? (This is a lot easier than "wrought," but it may take attention away from me while I am writhing on the floor.) And, when you think you have got it the easy way, remember there is another name for him, too, one that rhymes with "balloon." I finally looked that one up.

At present I'm working on "wrought."

The problem of usage

H. W. FOWLER and F. G. FOWLER Slang

THE PLACE OF SLANG is in real life. There, an occasional indulgence in it is an almost necessary concession to our gregarious humanity; he who declines altogether to let his speech be influenced by his neighbours' tricks, and takes counsel only of pure reason, is setting up for more than man. *Awfully nice* is an expression than which few could be sillier; but to have succeeded in going through life without saying it a certain number of times is as bad as to have no redeeming vice. Further, the writer who deals in conversation may sometimes find it necessary, by way of characterizing his speakers, to put slang into their mouths; if he is wise he will make the least possible use of this resource; and to interlard the non-conversational parts of a book or article with slang, quotation-marks or no quotation-marks, is as bad as interlarding with French. Foreign words and slang are, as spurious

From *The King's English* by H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler. Reprinted by permission of the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

ornaments, on the same level. The italics, but not the quotation-marks, in these examples are ours:

When the madness motif was being treated on the stage, Shakespeare (as was the custom of his theatre) treated it '*for all it was worth*,' careless of the boundaries between feigning and reality.—*Times.*

But even this situation '*peters out*,' the wife being sent away with her fate undecided, and the husband, represented as a 'forcible-feeble' person by the dramatist and as a feeble person, tout court, by the actor. . . .—*Times.*

M. Baron the younger is amusing as the '*bounder*' Olivier.—*Times.*

Asking ourselves this question about Mr. Thurston's play, we find that it has given us a ha'porth of pleasure to an intolerable deal of boredom. With its primary postulate, '*steep*' as it is, we will not quarrel.—*Times.*

They will find no subtlety in it, no literary art, no profundity of feeling; but they will assuredly find breadth, colour, and strength. It is a play that hits you, as the children say, '*bang in the eye*.'—*Times.*

They derive no advantage from schemes of land settlement from which the man who has broken the land in *gets* '*the boot*,' the voter gets the land, the Government gets the vote, and the London labour market gets the risk.—*Times.*

The effect of using quotation marks with slang is merely to convert a mental into a moral weakness. When they are not used, we may mercifully assume that the writer does not know the difference between slang and good English, and sins in ignorance; when they are, he is telling us, I know it is naughty, but then it is nice. Most of us would rather be taken for knaves than for fools; and so the quotation marks are usually there.

With this advice—never to use slang except in dialogue, and there as little as may be—we might leave the subject, except that the suggestion we have made about the unconscious use of slang seems to require justifying. To justify it, we must attempt some analysis, however slight, of different sorts of slang.

To the ordinary man, of average intelligence and middle-class position, slang comes from every direction, from above, from below, and from all sides, as well as from the centre. What comes from some directions he will know for slang, what comes from others he may not. He may be expected to recognize words from below. Some of these are shortenings, by the lower classes, of words whose full form conveys no clear meaning, and is therefore useless to them. An antiquated example is *mob*, for *mobile vulgus*. That was once slang, and is now good English. A modern one is *bike*, which will very likely be good English also in time. But though its brevity is a strong recommendation, and its uncouthness probably no more than subjective and transitory, it is as yet slang. Such words should not be used in print till they have become so familiar that there is not the slightest temptation to dress them up in quotation marks. Though they are the most easily detected they are also the best slang; when the time comes, they take their place in the language

as words that will last, and not, like many of the more highly descended words, die away uselessly after a brief popularity.

Another set of words that may be said to come from below, since it owes its existence to the vast number of people who are incapable of appreciating fine shades of meaning, is exemplified by *nice, awful, blooming*. Words of this class fortunately never make their way, in their slang senses, into literature (except, of course, dialogue). The abuse of *nice* has gone on at any rate for over a century; the curious reader may find an interesting page upon it in the fourteenth chapter of *Northanger Abbey* (1803). But even now we do not talk in books of *a nice day*, only of *a nice distinction*. On the other hand, the slang use makes us shy in different degrees of writing the words in their legitimate sense: *a nice distinction* we write almost without qualms; *an awful storm* we think twice about; and as to *a blooming girl*, we hardly venture it nowadays. The most recent sufferer of this sort is perhaps *chronic*. It has been adopted by the masses, as far apart at least as in Yorkshire and in London, for a mere intensive, in the sense of *remarkable*. The next step is for it to be taken up in parody by people who know better; after which it may be expected to succeed *awful*.

So much for the slang from below; the ordinary man can detect it. He is not so infallible about what comes to him from above. We are by no means sure that we shall be correct in our particular attribution of the half-dozen words now to be mentioned; but it is safe to say that they are all at present enjoying some vogue as slang, and that they all come from regions that to most of us are overhead. *Phenomenal*, soon, we hope, to perish unregretted, is (at least indirectly, through the abuse of *phenomenon*) from Metaphysics; *immanence*, a word often met in singular company, from Comparative Theology; *epochmaking* perhaps from the Philosophic Historian; *true inwardness* from Literary Criticism; *cad* (which is, it appears, Etonian for *cadet*) from the Upper Classes; *psychological moment* from Science; *thrasonical* and *cryptic* from Academic circles; *philistine* from the region of culture. Among these the one that will be most generally allowed to be slang—*cad*—is in fact the least so; it has by this time, like *mob*, passed its probation and taken its place as an orthodox word, so that all who do not find adequate expression for their feelings in the orthodox have turned away to *bounder* and other forms that still admit the emphasis of quotation marks. As for the rest of them, they are being subjected to that use, at once over-frequent and inaccurate, which produces one kind of slang. But the average man, seeing from what exalted quarters they come, is dazzled into admiration and hardly knows them for what they are.

By the slang that comes from different sides or from the centre we mean especially the many words taken originally from particular professions, pur-

suits, or games, but extended beyond them. Among these a man is naturally less critical of what comes from his own daily concerns, that is, in his view, from the centre. *Frontispiece*, for face, perhaps originated in the desire of prize-ring reporters to vary the words in their descriptive flights. *Negotiate* (a difficulty, &c.) possibly comes from the hunting field; people whose conversation runs much upon a limited subject feel the need of new phrases for the too familiar things. And both these words, as well as *individual*, which must be treated more at length in the next section, are illustrations of a tendency that we have called polysyllabic humour and discussed in the Chapter *Airs* and *Graces*. We now add a short list of slang phrases or words that can most of them be referred with more or less of certainty to particular occupations. Whether they are recognized as slang will certainly depend in part on whether the occupation is familiar, though sometimes the familiarity will disguise, and sometimes it will bring out, the slanginess.

To hedge, the double event (turf); *frontal attack* (war); *play the game, stumped* (cricket); *to run*—the show, &c.—(engine-driving); *knock out, take it lying down* (prize-ring); *log-rolling, slating, birrelling* (literature); *to tackle*—a problem, &c.—(football); *to take a back seat* (coaching?); *bedrock, to exploit, how it pans out* (mining); *whole-hogging, world policy* (politics); *floored* (1. prize ring; 2. school); *the under dog* (dog-fighting); *up to date* (advertising); *record*—time, &c.—(athletics); *euchred, going one better, going Nap.* (cards); *to corner*—a thing—(commerce)—a person—(ratting); *chic* (society journalism); *on your own, of sorts, climb down, globetrotter, to laze* (perhaps not assignable).

Good and sufficient occasions will arise—rarely—for using most of these phrases and the rest of the slang vocabulary. To those, however, who desire that what they write may endure it is suggested that, as style is the great antiseptic, so slang is the great corrupting matter; it is perishable itself, and infects what is round it—the catchwords that delight one generation stink in the nostrils of the next; *individual*, which almost made the fortune of many a Victorian humorist, is one of the modern editor's shibboleths for detecting the unfit. And even those who regard only the present will do well to remember that in literature as elsewhere there are as many conservatives as progressives, as many who expect their writers to say things a little better than they could do themselves as who are flattered by the proof that one man is no better than another.

'Skepsey did come back to London with rather a damaged *frontispiece*,' Victor said.—MEREDITH.

Henson, however, once *negotiated* a sprint down his wing, and put in a fine dropping shot to Aubert, who saved.—*Guernsey Evening Press*.

Passengers, the guild add, usually arrive at the last moment before sailing, when the master must concentrate his mind upon *negotiating* a safe passage.—*Times.*

To deal with these extensive and purely local breeding grounds in the manner suggested by Major Ross would be a very *tall order.*—*Times.*

In about twenty minutes he returned, accompanied by a highly intelligent-looking *individual*, dressed in blue and black, with a particularly white cravat, and without a hat on his head; this *individual*, whom I should have mistaken for a gentleman but for the intelligence depicted in his face, he introduced to me as the master of the inn.—BORROW.

A Sèvres vase sold yesterday at Christie's *realized* what is believed to be the *record* price of 4,000 guineas.—*Times.*

You could not, if you had tried, have made so perfect a place for two girls to lounge in, to *laze* in, to read silly novels in, or to go to sleep in on drowsy afternoons.—CROCKETT.

Mr. Balfour's somewhat *thrasonical* eulogies.—*Spectator.*

A quarrelsome, somewhat *thrasonical* fighting man.—*Spectator.*

The *true inwardness* of this statement is. . . .—*Times.*

We do not know what *inwardness* there may be in the order of his discourses, though each of them has some articulate link with that which precedes.—*Times.*

Such a departure from etiquette at the *psychological moment* shows tact and discretion.—*Times.*

He asserts that about four years ago there was quite an Argentine *boom* in New Zealand.—*Times.*

No treatment of slang, however short, should omit the reminder that slang and idiom are hard to distinguish, and yet, in literature, slang is bad, and idiom good. We said that slang was perishable; the fact is that most of it perishes; but some survives and is given the idiomatic franchise; 'when it doth prosper, none dare call it' slang. The idiomatic writer differs chiefly from the slangy in using what was slang and is now idiom; of what is still slang he chooses only that part which his insight assures him has the sort of merit that will preserve it. In a small part of their vocabulary the idiomatic and the slangy will coincide, and be therefore confused by the undiscerning. The only advice that can be given to novices uncertain of their own discrimination is to keep carefully off the debatable ground. Full idiom and full slang are as far apart as virtue and vice; and yet

> They oft so mix, the difference is too nice
> Where ends the virtue, or begins the vice.

Any one who can confidently assign each of the following phrases to its own territory may feel that he is not in much danger:

Outrun the constable, the man in the street, kicking your heels, between two stools, cutting a loss, riding for a fall, not seeing the wood for the trees, minding your Ps and Qs, crossing the *ts*, begging the question, special pleading, a bone to pick, half seas over, tooth and nail, bluff, maffick, a tall order, it has come to stay.

H. L. MENCKEN The hallmarks of American

THE CHARACTERS chiefly noted in American English by all who have discussed it, are, first, its general uniformity throughout the country; second, its impatient disregard for grammatical, syntactical and phonological rule and precedent; and third, its large capacity (distinctly greater than that of the English of present-day England) for taking in new words and phrases from outside sources, and for manufacturing them of its own materials.

The first of these characters has struck every observer, native and foreign. In place of the discordant local dialects of all the other major countries, including England, we have a general *Volkssprache* for the whole nation, and if it is conditioned at all it is only by minor differences in pronunciation and vocabulary, and by the linguistic struggles of various groups of newcomers. No other country can show such linguistic solidarity, nor any approach to it—not even Canada, for there a large minority of the population resists speaking English altogether. The Little Russian of the Ukraine is unintelligible to the citizen of Moscow; the Northern Italian can scarcely follow a conversation in Sicilian; the Low German from Hamburg is a foreigner in Munich; the Breton flounders in Gascony. Even in the United Kingdom there are wide divergences.[1] "When we remember," says the New International Encyclopedia, "that the dialects of the counties in England have marked differences—so marked, indeed, that it may be doubted whether a Lancashire miner and a Lincolnshire farmer could understand each other —we may well be proud that our vast country has, strictly speaking, only one language." There are some regional peculiarities in pronunciation and intonation, . . . but when it comes to the words they habitually use and the way they use them all Americans, even the less tutored, follow pretty much the same line. A Boston taxi-driver could go to work in Chicago or San Francisco without running any risk of misunderstanding his new fares. Once he had flattened his *a*'s a bit and picked up a few dozen localisms, he would be, to all linguistic intents and purposes, fully naturalized.

Of the intrinsic differences that separate American from English the chief have their roots in the obvious disparity between the environment and traditions of the American people since the Seventeenth Century and those of the English. The latter have lived under a relatively stable social order, and it

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[1] W. W. Skeat distinguishes 9 principal dialects in Scotland, 3 in Ireland and 30 in England and Wales. See his English Dialects From the Eighth Century to the Present Day; Cambridge, 1911, p. 107 ff. [The footnotes are Mencken's.]

has impressed upon their souls their characteristic respect for what is customary and of good report. Until the World War brought chaos to most of their institutions, their whole lives were regulated, perhaps more than those of any other people save the Spaniards, by a regard for precedent. The Americans, though partly of the same blood, have felt no such restraint, and acquired no such habit of conformity. On the contrary, they have plunged to the other extreme, for the conditions of life in their country have put a high value upon the precisely opposite qualities of curiosity and daring, and so they have acquired that character of restlessness, that impatience of forms, that disdain of the dead hand, which now broadly marks them. From the first, says a literary historian, they have been "less phlegmatic, less conservative than the English. There were climatic influences, it may be; there was surely a spirit of intensity everywhere that made for short effort."[2] Thus, in the arts, and thus in business, in politics, in daily intercourse, in habits of mind and speech. The American is not, of course, lacking in a capacity for discipline; he has it highly developed; he submits to leadership readily, and even to tyranny. But, by a curious twist, it is not the leadership that is old and decorous that commonly fetches him, but the leadership that is new and extravagant. He will resist dictation out of the past, but he will follow a new messiah with almost Russian willingness, and into the wildest vagaries of economics, religion, morals and speech. A new fallacy in politics spreads faster in the United States than anywhere else on earth, and so does a new fashion in hats, or a new revelation of God, or a new means of killing time, or a new shibboleth, or metaphor, or piece of slang. Thus the American, on his linguistic side, likes to make his language as he goes along, and not all the hard work of the schoolmarm can hold the business back. A novelty loses nothing by the fact that it is a novelty; it rather gains something, and particularly if it meets the national fancy for the terse, the vivid, and, above all, the bold imaginative. The characteristic American habit of reducing complex concepts to the starkest abbreviations was already noticeable in colonial times, and such highly typical Americanisms as *O.K.*, *N.G.*, and *P.D.Q.*, have been traced back to the early days of the Republic. Nor are the influences that shaped these tendencies invisible today, for institution-making is yet going on, so is language-making. In so modest an operation as that which has evolved *bunco* from *buncombe* and *bunk* from *bunco* there is evidence of a phenomenon which the philologian recognizes as belonging to the most lusty stages of speech.

But of more importance than the sheer inventions, if only because much

[2] F. L. Pattee: A History of American Literature Since 1870; New York, 1916. See also The American Novel, by Carl Van Doren; New York, 1921.

more numerous, are the extensions of the vocabulary, both absolutely and in ready workableness, by the devices of rhetoric. The American, from the beginning, has been the most ardent of recorded rhetoricians. His politics bristles with pungent epithets; his whole history has been bedizened with tall talk; his fundamental institutions rest far more upon brilliant phrases than upon logical ideas. And in small things as in large he exercises continually an incomparable capacity for projecting hidden and often fantastic relationships into arresting parts of speech. Such a term as *rubberneck* is almost a complete treatise on American psychology; it reveals the national habit of mind more clearly than any labored inquiry could ever reveal it. It has in it precisely the boldness and contempt for ordered forms that are so characteristically American, and it has too the grotesque humor of the country, and the delight in devastating opprobriums, and the acute feeling for the succinct and savory. The same qualities are in *rough-house*, *water-wagon*, *has-been*, *lame-duck*, *speed-cop* and a thousand other such racy substantives, and in all the great stock of native verbs and adjectives. There is indeed, but a shadowy boundary in these new coinages between the various parts of speech. *Corral*, borrowed from the Spanish, immediately becomes a verb and the father of an adjective. *Bust*, carved out of *burst*, erects itself into a noun. *Bum*, coming by way of an earlier *bummer* from the German, becomes noun, adjective, verb and adverb. Verbs are fashioned out of substantives by the simple process of prefixing the preposition: *to engineer*, *to stump*, *to hog*, *to style*, *to author*. Others grow out of an intermediate adjective, as *to boom*. Others are made by torturing nouns with harsh affixes, as *to burglarize* and *to itemize*, or by groping for the root, as *to resurrect* and *to jell*. Yet others are changed from intransitive to transitive; a sleeping-car *sleeps* thirty passengers. So with the adjectives. They are made of substantives unchanged: *codfish*, *jitney*. Or by bold combinations: *down-and-out*, *up-state*, *flat-footed*. Or by shading down suffixes to a barbaric simplicity: *scary*, *classy*, *tasty*. Or by working over adverbs until they tremble on the brink between adverb and adjective: *right*, *sure* and *near* are examples.

All these processes, of course, are also to be observed in the history of the English of England; at the time of its sturdiest growth they were in the most active possible being. They are, indeed, common to all tongues; "the essence of language," says Dr. Jespersen, "is activity." But if you will put the English of today beside the American of today you will see at once how much more forcibly they are in operation in the latter than in the former. The standard Southern dialect of English has been arrested in its growth by its purists and grammarians, and burdened with irrational affectations by fashionable pretension. It shows no living change since the reign of Samuel Johnson. Its

tendency is to combat all that expansive gusto which made for its pliancy and resilience in the days of Shakespeare.[3] In place of the old loose-footedness there is set up a preciosity which, in one direction, takes the form of clumsy artificialities in the spoken language, and in another shows itself in the even clumsier Johnsonese of so much current English writing—the Jargon denounced by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch in his Cambridge lectures. This "infirmity of speech" Quiller-Couch finds "in parliamentary debates and in the newspaper; . . . it has become the medium through which Boards of Government, County Councils, Syndicates, Committees, Commercial Firms, express the processes as well as the conclusions of their thought, and so voice the reason of their being." Distinct from journalese, the two yet overlap, "and have a knack of assimilating each other's vices."[4]

American, despite the gallant efforts of the pedagogues, has so far escaped any such suffocating formalization. We, too, of course, have our occasional practitioners of the authentic English Jargon, but in the main our faults lie in precisely the opposite direction. That is to say, we incline toward a directness of statement which, at its greatest, lacks restraint and urbanity altogether, and toward a hospitality which often admits novelties for the mere sake of their novelty, and is quite uncritical of the difference between a genuine improvement in succinctness and clarity, and mere extravagant raciness. "The tendency," says one English observer, "is . . . to consider the speech of any man, as any man himself, as good as any other."[5] "The Americans," adds a Scots professor, "are determined to hack their way through the

[3] Rather curiously, the two authorities who were most influential, during the Nineteenth Century, in keeping it to a rigid pattern were both Americans. They were Lindley Murray (1745-1826) and Joseph E. Worcester (1784-1865). Murray, a Pennsylvanian, went to England after the Revolution, and in 1795 published his Grammar of the English Language. It had an extraordinary sale in England, and was accepted as the court of last resort in usage down to quite recent times. Worcester's Universal and Critical Dictionary of the English Language, 1846, divided the honors of authority in England with B. H. Smart's Dictionary, published during the same year. It was extensively pirated. Thus, says Thomas R. Lounsbury (The Standard of Pronunciation in English; New York, 1904, p. 220), "the Londoner frequently got his pure London pronunciation from a citizen of this country who was never outside of New England for more than a few months of his life." Worcester was also accepted at Harvard and at the University of Virginia, but elsewhere in the United States Webster prevailed.

[4] See the chapter, Interlude on Jargon, in Quiller-Couch's On the Art of Writing; New York, 1916. Appropriately enough, large parts of the learned critic's book are written in the very Jargon he attacks. See also Ch. VI of Growth and Structure of the English Language, by O. Jespersen, 3rd., rev.; Leipzig, 1919, especially p. 143 ff. See also Official English in *English* March, 1919, p. 7; April, p. 45, and Aug., p. 135, and The Decay of Syntax, in the London *Times Literary Supplement*, May 8, 1919, p. 1.

[5] Alexander Francis: Americans: An Impression; New York, 1900.

language, as their ancestors through forests, regardless of the valuable growths that may be sacrificed in blazing the trail."[6] But this Scot dismisses the English neologisms of the day, when ranged beside the American stock, as "dwiny, feeble stuff"; "it is to America," he admits, "that we must chiefly look in future for the replenishment and freshening of our language." I quote one more Briton, this time an Englishman steeped in the public school tradition:

> The English of the United States is not merely different from ours; it has a restless inventiveness which may well be founded in a sense of racial discomfort, a lack of full accord between the temperament of the people and the constitution of their speech. The English are uncommunicative; the Americans are not. In its coolness and quiet withdrawal, in its prevailing sobriety, our language reflects the cautious economies and leisurely assurance of the average speaker. We say so little that we do not need to enliven our vocabulary and underline our sentences, or cry "Wolf!" when we wish to be heard. The more stimulating climate of the United States has produced a more eager, a more expansive, a more decisive people. The Americans apprehend their world in sharper outlines and aspire after a more salient rendering of it.[7]

This revolt against conventional bonds and restraints is most noticeable, of course, on the lower levels of American speech; in the regions above there still linger some vestiges of Eighteenth Century tightness. But even in those upper regions there are rebels a-plenty, and some of them are of such authority that it is impossible to dismiss them. I glance through the speeches of the late Dr. Woodrow Wilson, surely a conscientious purist and Anglomaniac if we have ever had one, and find, in a few moments, half a dozen locutions that an Englishman in like position would certainly hesitate to use, among them *we must get a move on*,[8] *to hog*,[9] *to gum-shoe*,[10] *onery* in place of *ordinary*,[11] and *that is going some*.[12] I turn to the letters of that most passionate of Anglomaniacs, Walter Hines Page, and find *to eat out of my hand, to lick to a frazzle, to cut no figure, to go gunning for, nothin' doin', for keeps*, and so on. I proceed to Dr. John Dewey, probably the country's most respectable metaphysician, and find him using *dope* for *opium*.[13] In recent years certain English magnificoes have shown signs of going the same route, but whenever they yield the corrective bastinado is laid on, and nine times

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[6] Breaking Priscian's Head, by J. Y. T. Greig; London, 1929.

[7] Pomona, or The Future of English, by Basil de Sélincourt; London, 1929.

[8] Speech before the Chamber of Commerce Convention, Washington, Feb. 19, 1916.

[9] Speech at a workingman's dinner, New York, Sept. 4, 1912.

[10] Wit and Wisdom of Woodrow Wilson, comp. by Richard Linthicum; New York, 1916, p. 54.

[11] Speech at Ridgewood, N.J. April 22, 1910.

[12] Wit and Wisdom . . . p. 56.

[13] *New Republic*, Dec. 24, 1919, p. 116, col. 1.

out of ten they are accused, and rightly, of succumbing to American influence.

Let American confront a novel problem alongside English, and immediately its superior imaginativeness and resourcefulness become obvious. *Movie* is better than *cinema;* and the English begin to admit the fact by adopting the word; it is not only better American, it is better English. *Bill-board* is better than *hoarding. Office-holder* is more honest, more picturesque, more thoroughly Anglo-Saxon than *public-servant. Stem-winder* somehow has more life in it, more fancy and vividness, than the literal *keyless-watch.* Turn to the terminology of *railroading* (itself, by the way, an Americanism): its creation fell upon the two peoples equally, but they tackled the job independently. The English, seeking a figure to denominate the wedge-shaped fender in front of a locomotive, called it a *plough;* the Americans, characteristically, gave it the far more pungent name of *cow-catcher.* So with the casting which guides the wheels from one rail to another. The English called it a *crossing-plate;* the Americans, more responsive to the suggestion in its shape, called it a *frog.* American is full of what Bret Harte called the "saber-cuts of Saxon"; it meets Montaigne's ideal of "a succulent and nervous speech, short and compact, not as much delicated and combed out as vehement and brusque, rather arbitrary than monotonous, not pedantic but soldierly, as Suetonius called Caesar's Latin." One pictures the common materials of English dumped into a pot, exotic flavorings added, and the bubblings assiduously and expectantly skimmed. What is old and respected is already in decay the moment it comes into contact with what is new and vivid. "When we Americans are through with the English language," says Mr. Dooley, "it will look as if it had been run over by a musical comedy."

All this boldness of conceit, of course, makes for vulgarity. Unrestrained by any critical sense—and the critical sense of the pedagogues counts for little, for they cry wolf too often—it flowers in such barbaric inventions as *tasty, alright, go-getter, he-man, go-aheadativeness, tony, goof, semi-occasional,* and *to doxologize.* But vulgarity, after all, means no more than a yielding to natural impulses in the face of conventional inhibitions, and that yielding to natural impulses is at the heart of all healthy language-making. The history of English, like the history of American and of every other living tongue, is a history of vulgarisms that, by their accurate meeting of real needs, have forced their way into sound usage, and even into the lifeless catalogues of the grammarians. The purist performs a useful office in enforcing a certain logical regularity upon the process, and in our own case the omnipresent example of the greater conservatism of the English restrains, to some extent, our native tendency to go too fast, but the process itself is as

inexorable in its workings as the precession of the equinoxes, and if we yield to it more eagerly than the English, it is only a proof, perhaps, that the future of what was once the Anglo-Saxon tongue lies on this side of the water. Standard English now has the brakes on, but American continues to leap in the dark, and the prodigality of its movement is all the indication that is needed of its intrinsic health, its capacity to meet the everchanging needs of a restless and emotional people, inordinately mongrel, and disdainful of tradition. Language, says A. H. Sayce,

> is no artificial product, contained in books and dictionaries and governed by the strict rules of impersonal grammarians. It is the living expression of the mind and spirit of a people, ever changing and shifting, whose sole standard of correctness is custom and the common usage of the community. . . . The first lesson to be learned is that there is no intrinsic right or wrong in the use of language, no fixed rules such as are the delight of the teacher of Latin prose. What is right now will be wrong hereafter; what language rejected yesterday she accepts today.[14]

[14] Introduction to the Science of Language, 4th ed.; London, 1900, Vol. II, pp. 33–4.

The problem of style

RUDOLF FLESCH Sentences and gadgets of language

PLAIN TALK is mainly a question of language structure and of spacing your ideas. Now let's get down to work and learn how to do this.

We shall start with sentences, for the simple reason that language consists of sentences. Most people would say offhand that language consists of words rather than sentences; but that's looking at it the wrong way. We do not speak by forming one sentence after another from words we have stocked somewhere back in our brains: we try to say what we have in mind and tell it in sentences. This obvious fact is confirmed by what we know about the language of primitive peoples, where the issue is not confused by grammar and dictionary knowledge. Here is, for instance, what Frank C. Laubach, the famous teacher of illiterates, tells about the Maranaw language: "When we tried to write the words we heard, nobody could tell us where one word began and another ended! If I asked Pambaya, 'What is the Maranaw word for *go*?' he did not know. But if I asked how to say 'Where are you going?' he answered at once, 'Andakasoong.' By many trials and

errors we discovered that *anda* was *where*, *ka* was *you*, and *soong* was *go*—'Where you go?'"

Of course, English has advanced far beyond Maranaw; but the principle still holds that words are discovered by taking sentences apart, and that the units by which we express ideas are sentences rather than words. So, to learn how to say things simply, we have to start by studying sentences.

Now, what is a sentence? Let's take our definition from Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. (This is the most famous elbow book for English writers. Incidentally, it's fun to read.) "A sentence means a set of words complete in itself, having either expressed or understood in it a subject and a predicate, and conveying a statement or question or command or exclamation." Fowler adds, and this is important: "Two sentences (not one): *You commanded and I obeyed*." Naturally, it would also be two sentences if you wrote: *"You commanded; I obeyed."*

So you see that ordinarily a sentence expresses one thought and you need two sentences to express two thoughts. You can, however, work one sentence into another in place of a noun or adjective or adverb: it then becomes a clause and the other sentence a complex sentence. You can also work more ideas into a sentence by putting in more phrases or words.

Every word you set into the framework of a sentence has to be fitted into its pattern; it has to be tied in with invisible strings. In a simple sentence like *Man bites dog* there is one such string between *man* and *bites* and another between *bites* and *dog*, and that's all there is to the sentence pattern. But if a sentence goes beyond the subject-predicate-object type, it is liable to become a net of crisscrossing strings that have to be unraveled before we can understand what it says.

Take for instance this sentence from a recent book on Russia:

> Here is Edmund Burke, the eminent British Liberal, than whom no European statesman was more horrified by the outrages of the French Revolution.

As you see, the clause is tied to the main sentence by the word *whom*, from which an invisible string leads to *Burke*, five words back. To reach *whom*, however, we have to jump over *than* which in turn is tied to *more horrified*, five words ahead. In short, the sentence is a tangle and should have been revised to read:

> No other European statesman was more horrified by the outrages of the French Revolution than Edmund Burke, the eminent British Liberal.

Old-fashioned grammarians would point out that the main idea should never have been expressed in the subordinate clause; but that rule of thumb is pure superstition. The important thing is that the ties within the sentence should not run in different directions but straightforward so that the reader

can read along. Here is a good example of what I mean (from the theater section of the *New Yorker*):

> In an otherwise empty week, we might as well give the play our attention, if only as an almost perfect example of how a script of no conceivable merit manages to get cast, rehearsed and finally produced at some expense without anybody connected with it being aware that the whole enterprise is a violent and batty flight in the face of providence. In this case, of course, Mr. Paley has put on his own work, but it still seems incredible that nobody once took him aside and explained that even in these queer times there is no reliable metropolitan audience for amateur theatricals.

These sentences are not hard to read in spite of their complexity. The trouble is, you have to be a skillful writer to turn this trick. Ordinarily, a sentence will get tangled up as soon as you start filling it up with ideas. The best plan is to write short sentences so that the reader, or listener, gets enough chances for breathing spells and doesn't get caught in invisible strings between words.

That sounds elementary; and you may wonder why you find so many long sentences in books, magazines, and newspapers. The explanation, to the best of my knowledge, is simply that those sentences are written, not to make it easy for the reader, but to ensnare him, catch him like a fly on flypaper, or buttonhole him to attention. There are reasons for doing this; sometimes even good reasons. The most commonplace is the let-me-finish-my-sentence feeling of the raconteur, the storyteller who doesn't want to let go of his audience. Here is a simple example of the raconteur-sentence from a story by Damon Runyon:

> Well, Charley takes the dice and turns to a little guy in a derby hat who is standing next to him scrooching back so Charley will not notice him, and Charley lifts the derby hat off the little guy's head, and rattles the dice in his hand and chucks them into the hat and goes "Hah!" like crap shooters always do when they are rolling the dice.

Such a sentence is very loosely tied together; besides, it is really two sentences joined by *and*. If we want to disentangle it, we can rewrite it easily:

> Well, Charley takes the dice. He turns to a little guy in a derby hat who is standing next to him scrooching back so Charley will not notice him. Charley lifts the derby hat off the little guy's head, rattles the dice in his hand, chucks them into the hat and goes "Hah!" Crapshooters always do that when they are rolling the dice.

Now listen to a charming literary raconteur, Alexander Woollcott:

> If this report were to be published in its own England, I would have to cross my fingers in a little foreword explaining that all the characters were fictitious—which stern requirement of the British libel law would embarrass me slightly because none of the characters is fictitious, and the story—told to Katharine Cornell by Clemence Dane and by Katharine Cornell to me—chronicles what, to the best

of my knowledge and belief, actually befell a young English physician whom I shall call Alvan Barach, because that does not happen to be his name.

This is already more difficult to unravel, but here we go:

> If this report were to be published in its own England, I would have to cross my fingers in a little foreword explaining that all the characters were fictitious; and that stern requirement of the British libel law would embarrass me slightly because none of the characters *is* fictitious. The story was told by Clemence Dane to Katharine Cornell and by Katharine Cornell to me: it chronicles what, to the best of my knowledge and belief, actually befell a young English physician. I shall call him Alvan Barach because that does *not* happen to be his name.

Similar in purpose to the raconteur-sentence is the newspaper lead-sentence. The reporter, following a hoary rule of journalism, tries to get everything important into the first sentence so that the reader whose eyes happen to get caught by the headline, starts reading and cannot stop until he knows the gist of the story. This system gets the news down the reader's throat whether he wants it or not, but it makes newspaper reading a very unpleasant job. This is what you are likely to get with your breakfast:

> The Germans have completed a mine belt three miles wide along the west coast of Jutland in Denmark as part of their invasion defenses, and preparations to meet the Anglo-American onslaught from the west have been reviewed in Berlin where Adolf Hitler and Field Marshal Gen. Wilhelm Keitel, chief of staff to the Supreme Command, met Field Marshal Gen. Karl von Rundstedt, commander of the Wehrmacht in France.

Or, translated from tapeworm English into plain language:

> The Germans have completed a mine belt three miles wide along the west coast of Jutland in Denmark. This is part of their invasion defenses. Adolf Hitler, Field Marshal Gen. Wilhelm Keitel (chief of staff to the Supreme Command), and Field Marshal Gen. Karl von Rundstedt (commander of the Wehrmacht in France) met in Berlin. They reviewed preparations to meet the Anglo-American onslaught from the west.

Scientists, eager to win their argument, also often buttonhole their readers with long sentences. For instance:

> Learning a language need not be dull, if we fortify our efforts by scientific curiosity about the relative defects and merits of the language we are studying, about its relation to other languages which people speak, and about the social agencies which have affected its growth or about circumstances which have molded its character in the course of history.

Maybe the argument would sound even more convincing like this:

> Learning a language need not be dull. We can fortify our efforts by scientific curiosity about the language we are studying: What are its relative defects and merits? How is it related to other languages people speak? What social agencies have affected its growth? What circumstances have molded its character in the course of history?

The most notorious long-sentence writers are the lawyers. The reason is again similar: they won't let the reader escape. Behind each interminable legal sentence seems to be the idea that all citizens will turn into criminals as soon as they find a loophole in the law; if a sentence ends before everything is said, they will stop reading right there and jump to the chance of breaking the rule that follows after the period.

Well, that's questionable psychological doctrine; what is certain is that legal language is hard even on lawyers. Here is a mild example:

> Sick leave shall be granted to employees when they are incapacitated for the performance of their duties by sickness, injury, or pregnancy and confinement, or for medical, dental or optical examination or treatment, or when a member of the immediate family of the employee is affected with a contagious disease and requires the care and attendance of the employee, or when, through exposure to contagious disease, the presence of the employee at his post of duty would jeopardize the health of others.

Now I cannot believe that sick leaves would greatly increase or decrease if this were formulated as follows:

> Employees shall be granted sick leaves for these four reasons:
> (1) They cannot work because of sickness, injury, or pregnancy and confinement;
> (2) They need medical, dental or optical treatment;
> (3) A member of their immediate family is affected with a contagious disease and needs their care and attendance;
> (4) Their presence at their post of duty would jeopardize the health of others through exposure to contagious disease.

Finally, long sentences can be used for artistic reasons. Marcel Proust, the great French writer, built his novels from never-ending sentences—with the effect that the reader feels magically transposed into a world of dreamy memories and intense feelings. This is hard to describe; but you may want to taste just one sentence:

> But now, like a confirmed invalid whom, all of a sudden, a change of air and surroundings, or a new course of treatment, or, as sometimes happens, an organic change in himself, spontaneous and unaccountable, seems to have so far recovered from his malady that he begins to envisage the possibility, hitherto beyond all hope, of starting to lead—and better late than never—a wholly different life, Swann found in himself, in the memory of the phrase that he had heard, in certain other sonatas that he had made people play over to him, to see whether he might not, perhaps, discover his phrase among them, the presence of one of those invisible realities in which he had ceased to believe, but to which, as though the music had had upon the moral barrenness from which he was suffering a sort of recreative influence, he was conscious once again of a desire, almost, indeed, of the power to consecrate his life.

I am not going to translate this sentence into simple prose, first, because, in cold print, this would look like an insult to Proust's memory and, second, because this will be an excellent exercise for you after you finish this chapter. I am afraid it will keep you busy for a while.

Meanwhile you may ask, what is the moral of all this? Shall we write nothing but short, simple sentences? Shall we dissect every long sentence we find? Is there any rule?

No, there is no rule. But there are scientific facts. Sentence length has been measured and tested. We know today what average Americans read with ease, and what sentence length will fit an audience with a given reading skill. So you get not a rule but a set of standards.

To understand the table that follows, remember two things:

First, sentence length is measured in words because they are the easiest units to count: you just count everything that is separated by white space on the page. But don't forget that you might just as well count syllables, which would give you a more exact idea of sentence length: a sentence of twenty one-syllable words would then appear shorter than a sentence of ten one-syllable words and six two-syllable words. Keep that in mind while counting words.

Second, remember Fowler's definition of a sentence. Count two sentences where there are two, even if there is no period between them but only a semicolon or colon. But don't bother about sorting out sentences with conjunctions between them: the difference is not worth the added effort.

Now look at the table:

Average Sentence Length in Words

VERY EASY	8 or less
EASY	11
FAIRLY EASY	14
STANDARD	17
FAIRLY DIFFICULT	21
DIFFICULT	25
VERY DIFFICULT	29 or more

Just what EASY and DIFFICULT means on this table, I shall explain in detail later. For the moment, notice that an average reader will have no trouble with an average sentence of 17 words. (In a book or article, shorter sentences will, of course, cancel out the longer ones.) Easy prose is often written in 8-word sentences or so. Such writing consists mostly of dialogue and, as everybody knows, a book with a lot of dialogue is easy to read. On the

upper half of the scale, literary English runs to about 20 words a sentence, and scientific English to about 30 words. The average sentence in this book has 18 words.

So, if you want to rewrite or edit something for people who are just about average, measure it against the 17-word standard. If the sentences are longer, look for the joints in their construction and break them into smaller pieces until they are of the right average length. . . .

NOW THAT WE KNOW what to do about sentences, the next question is, of course, what kind of words to put in them. This is the main topic of all books on how to write and I cannot start this chapter better than by quoting the beginning of the best of the lot, Fowler's *The King's English* (where you can study systematically what is arranged by the alphabet in his *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*): "Any one who wishes to become a good writer should endeavour, before he allows himself to be tempted by the more showy qualities, to be direct, simple, brief, vigorous, and lucid. This general principle may be translated into practical rules in the domain of vocabulary as follows:—

> Prefer the familiar word to the far-fetched.
> Prefer the concrete word to the abstract.
> Prefer the single word to the circumlocution.
> Prefer the short word to the long.
> Prefer the Saxon word to the Romance.

These rules are given roughly in order of merit; the last is also the least."

Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, in his Cambridge lectures *On the Art of Writing*, adds one more rule: "Generally use transitive verbs, that strike their object; and use them in the active voice, eschewing the stationary passive, with its little auxiliary *is*'s and *was*'s, and its participles getting into the light of your adjectives, which should be few. For, as a rough law, by his use of the straight verb and by his economy of adjectives you can tell a man's style, if it be masculine or neuter, writing or 'composition.'"

This is, in a nutshell, the best advice you can get anywhere. If you look at these rules closely, you will find that those about short and Saxon words are admittedly not worth much, and that Quiller-Couch's rule starts with an arbitrary preference for transitive verbs—as if *lay* were a better word than *lie*. You will also see that the first rule about familiar words depends not on your own familiarity with words but on your reader's, which is hard to guess. And you will realize that the excellent rule about the single word being better than the circumlocution is unnecessary as long as you stick to what you learned from the last chapter and use as few words as possible in your sentences.

This leaves us with Fowler's second rule: "Prefer the concrete word to the abstract." Very good. Plain talk, as we all know, consists of concrete words; that's practically a definition of it. But which words are concrete and which abstract? You think you know? Well, is *apple* a concrete word? Of course, you say: you can look at apples, smell them, touch them, eat them. But how about the concept *apple?* Isn't it true that the word *apple* also stands for what all the apples in the world have in common, for their "appleness"? Isn't that abstract? How can you tell about any word whether it is abstract or concrete?

Actually, it is a question of meaning and of degree. Some words, like *democracy*, can safely be called abstract since they are used chiefly with abstract meaning; others, like *apple*, are felt to be concrete because they usually apply to concrete objects. It is possible—I have done it once—to draw up a long list of the most common abstract words and then check the abstractness of writing by the proportion of those words. But this is a cumbersome thing to do. You can get the same result in a far quicker and easier way if you count the language gadgets.

For language consists of two parts: the things we say and the machinery by which we say them. To express our thoughts, as we have seen, we use sentences; and we cannot express a thought by any single word unless it is able to do the work of a sentence if necessary. So we can tell the meaningful words apart from the mere language machinery by the sentence test: if a word can form a sentence, it refers to something outside language; if it cannot, it is just a language gadget. This has nothing to do with abstractness and concreteness: it is a linguistic difference. For instance, the abstract word *sin* can be used as a sentence, as in the famous answer to the question "What was the sermon about?" But the next question, "What did the preacher say?" had to be answered by a whole sentence: "He was against it." "*Against*" by itself wouldn't do as an answer; neither would *dis-* for "He disapproved of it." That's because *against* and *dis-* are examples of language gadgets; they have no meaning except combined with meaningful words in a sentence.

Now, the point of all this is that difficult, complex, abstract language is cluttered up with gadgets. If we stick to this purely linguistic test, we can measure difficulty by counting gadgets, and we can simplify our speech and writing by throwing them out.

Language gadgets, as you have seen, are of two kinds: words by themselves, like *against*, and parts of words (affixes), like *dis-*. The more harmful of the two for plain talk are the affixes, since the reader or hearer cannot understand what the gadget does to the sentence before he has disentangled it from the word it is attached to. Each affix burdens his mind with two jobs: first, he has to split up the word into its parts and, second, he has to

rebuild the sentence from these parts. To do this does not even take a split second, of course; but it adds up.

If you want to measure word difficulty, therefore, you have to count affixes. Here is what you do: You count every affix you find in your text, every prefix, suffix, or inflectional ending, with the exception of -s at the end of a word, -en in *children, oxen* etc., and -d or -t in *could, did, had, might, ought, should, stood, went, would.* Some words have two affixes, like *dis-ap-prove,* some have three, like *dis-ap-prov-ing.* Some seem to have nothing but affixes like *philo-soph-y*; discount one in such words. When you have finished counting, figure out how many affixes there are per 100 words; or, of course, you can take a 100-word sample to begin with. Then you can check the result against this table:

Number of Affixes Per 100 Words

VERY EASY	22 or less
EASY	26
FAIRLY EASY	31
STANDARD	37
FAIRLY DIFFICULT	42
DIFFICULT	46
VERY DIFFICULT	54 or more

Again, for the time being, the average-reader standard of 37 is most important for you to know. The best example of VERY EASY prose (about 20 affixes per 100 words) is the King James Version of the Bible; literary writing tends to be FAIRLY DIFFICULT; scientific prose is VERY DIFFICULT. This book has on the average 33 affixes per 100 words.

To simplify a given passage, count first the number of affixes; then replace affix words systematically by root words, or at least by words with fewer affixes, until you arrive at the level you want to reach. The translating job is sometimes difficult and a dictionary with simple definitions will help. There are two dictionaries of this type on the market: one is the *Thorndike Century Senior Dictionary*, which defines words for high-school students; the other is *The New Method English Dictionary* by Michael West, which explains words to foreigners in a 2,000-word definition vocabulary. (A third one, Ogden's *General Basic English Dictionary*, is not recommended for this purpose.) Using Thorndike or West, however, is only a makeshift until somebody compiles a real simplifier's dictionary. Incidentally, both are useless for spotting affixes: the handiest tool for this, as I said before, is the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*.

Let me show you how it is done on a passage from *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* by Harold J. Laski. Laski, a leading British Social-

ist, writes well, and his topic is exciting; but unfortunately, he is a professor by trade and his language is pure academic jargon. Here is a key passage that seems worth translating into plain English:

What is the essence of fascism? It is the outcome of capitalism in decay. It is the retort of the propertied interests to a democracy which seeks to transcend the relations of production implied in a capitalist society. But it is not merely the annihilation of democracy. It is also the use of nationalist feeling to justify a policy of foreign adventure in the hope, thereby, of redressing the grievances which are the index to capitalist decay. Wherever fascism has been successful, it has been built upon a protest by the business interests against the increased demands of the workers. To make that protest effective, the business interests have, in effect, concluded an alliance with some outstanding *condottiere* and his mercenaries who have agreed to suppress the workers' power in exchange for the possession of the state. But as soon as the condottiere has seized the state, he has invariably discovered that he cannot merely restore the classic outlines of capitalism and leave it there. Not only has his own army expectations. Having identified himself with the state, he has to use it to solve the problems through the existence of which he has been able to arrive at power. He has no real doctrine except his passionate desire to remain in authority. His test of good is the purely pragmatic test of success. And he finds invariably that success means using the state-power over the nation partly to coerce and partly to cajole it into acquiescence in his rule. That acquiescence is the sole purpose of, and the sole justification for, the methods that he uses. The only values he considers are those which seem likely to contribute to his success.

Now this has 56 affixes per 100 words and rates VERY DIFFICULT. The following translation has 32 and should read fairly easily:

What makes fascism? It stems from capitalism in decay. It is the rich people's answer when democracy tries to go beyond the capitalist way of running production. But it does not stop at wiping out democracy. It also plays on the people's love for their country to put over dangerous plans against other countries and so, they hope, to set right the wrongs capitalism in decay brings about. Wherever fascism has been successful, it has been helped at the start by businessmen trying to keep the workers from getting more. To do this, the businessmen have, in fact, joined up with some outstanding gang leader and his hired soldiers who have made a bargain to put down the workers' power and become owners of the state in return. But as soon as the gang leader has seized the state, he has always found that he cannot just bring back the standard forms of capitalism and leave it there. Not only does his own army wait for rewards. Now that he and the state are the same, he has to use it to solve the problems that made the businessmen put him in power. He has no beliefs except his strong wish to stay in power. His test of good is the test of success. And he always finds that success means using state-power to force or coax the people to yield to his rule. This is the sole purpose or reason for his methods. Useful to him is only what seems likely to add to his success.

You will notice that some of the key words have been left untouched, like *fascism, capitalism, democracy, production.* Other affix words, like *decay, problem, success, methods,* did not seem worth translating since they are

easy to understand for every reader and would be hard to replace in this passage. Remember that whenever you try to limit your vocabulary rigidly, you become artificial and maybe un-English. If you want to achieve plain talk, you have to avoid that mistake.

Another feature of the translation is that it is much shorter, not only in syllables but also in words. Ordinarily, if you replace affix words by root words, you will have to use more words. But it so happens that there is a lot of deadwood in this type of academic jargon that naturally falls by the wayside once you start rewriting. *He has no real doctrine* becomes *He has no beliefs*, and *the methods that he uses, his methods*.

I admit that it is not easy to write about economics or political science in easy language. Gifted writers are rare in this field; and a truly readable book like Bernard Shaw's *Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* is a great exception. Let me quote to you, as contrast, how Shaw begins his "Appendix instead of a bibliography":

> This book is so long that I can hardly think that any woman will want to read much more about Socialism and Capitalism for some time. Besides, a bibliography is supposed to be an acknowledgment by the author of the books from which his own book was compiled. Now this book is not a compilation: it is all out of my own head. It was started by a lady asking me to write her a letter explaining Socialism. I thought of referring her to the hundreds of books which have been written on the subject; but the difficulty was that they were nearly all written in an academic jargon which, though easy and agreeable to students of economics, politics, philosophy, and sociology generally, is unbearably dry, meaning unreadable, to women not so specialized. And then, all these books are addressed to men. You might read a score of them without ever discovering that such a creature as a woman had ever existed. In fairness let me add that you might read a good many of them without discovering that such a thing as a man ever existed. So I had to do it all over again in my own way and yours. And though there were piles of books about Socialism, and an enormous book about Capitalism by Karl Marx, not one of them answered the simple question, "What is Socialism?" The other simple question, "What is Capital?" was smothered in a mass of hopelessly wrong answers, the right one having hit on (as far as my reading goes) only once, and that was by the British economist Stanley Jevons when he remarked casually that capital is spare money. I made a note of that.

This is splendid writing, excellently readable for people like you and me. (It has 38 affixes per 100 words.) It just so happens that Shaw seems unable to write like this:

> The extensiveness of the present volume is such that it appears almost inconceivable that female readers should desire to prolong the study of Socialism and Capitalism for an additional period of time. This circumstance apart, a bibliography traditionally is supposed to serve as an acknowledgment offered by the author of the original sources that contributed to the genesis of his compilation.

In contrast, however, to this usually followed procedure, the present volume differs radically from a compilation inasmuch as it was solely and entirely conceived and executed by the author himself. . . .

And so on. Translating normal English into affix English is easy; with the help of Roget's *Thesaurus* it's no work at all. Moral: if you want to write plain English, don't use your Roget.

W. SOMERSET MAUGHAM Three aims for writers

I KNEW that I should never write as well as I could wish, but I thought with pains I could arrive at writing as well as my natural defects allowed. On taking thought it seemed to me that I must aim at lucidity, simplicity and euphony. I have put these three qualities in the order of the importance I assigned to them.

I have never had much patience with the writers who claim from the reader an effort to understand their meaning. You have only to go to the great philosophers to see that it is possible to express with lucidity the most subtle reflections. You may find it difficult to understand the thought of Hume, and if you have no philosophical training its implications will doubtless escape you; but no one with any education at all can fail to understand exactly what the meaning of each sentence is. Few people have written English with more grace than Berkeley. There are two sorts of obscurity that you find in writers. One is due to negligence and the other to wilfulness. People often write obscurely because they have never taken the trouble to learn to write clearly. This sort of obscurity you find too often in modern philosophers, in men of science, and even in literary critics. Here it is indeed strange. You would have thought that men who passed their lives in the study of the great masters of literature would be sufficiently sensitive to the beauty of language to write if not beautifully at least with perspicuity. Yet you will find in their works sentence after sentence that you must read twice to discover the sense. Often you can only guess at it, for the writers have evidently not said what they intended.

Another cause of obscurity is that the writer is himself not quite sure of his meaning. He has a vague impression of what he wants to say, but has not, either from lack of mental power or from laziness, exactly formulated it

in his mind and it is natural enough that he should not find a precise expression for a confused idea. This is due largely to the fact that many writers think, not before, but as they write. The pen originates the thought. The disadvantage of this, and indeed it is a danger against which the author must be always on his guard, is that there is a sort of magic in the written word. The idea acquires substance by taking on a visible nature, and then stands in the way of its own clarification. But this sort of obscurity merges very easily into the wilful. Some writers who do not think clearly are inclined to suppose that their thoughts have a significance greater than at first sight appears. It is flattering to believe that they are too profound to be expressed so clearly that all who run may read, and very naturally it does not occur to such writers that the fault is with their own minds which have not the faculty of precise reflection. Here again the magic of the written word obtains. It is very easy to persuade oneself that a phrase that one does not quite understand may mean a great deal more than one realizes. From this there is only a little way to go to fall into the habit of setting down one's impressions in all their original vagueness. Fools can always be found to discover a hidden sense in them. There is another form of wilful obscurity that masquerades as aristocratic exclusiveness. The author wraps his meaning in mystery so that the vulgar shall not participate in it. His soul is a secret garden into which the elect may penetrate only after overcoming a number of perilous obstacles. But this kind of obscurity is not only pretentious; it is short-sighted. For time plays it an odd trick. If the sense is meagre time reduces it to a meaningless verbiage that no one thinks of reading. This is the fate that has befallen the lucubrations of those French writers who were seduced by the example of Guillaume Apollinaire. But occasionally it throws a sharp cold light on what had seemed profound and thus discloses the fact that these contortions of language disguised very commonplace notions. There are few of Mallarmé's poems now that are not clear; one cannot fail to notice that his thought singularly lacked originality. Some of his phrases were beautiful; the materials of his verse were the poetic platitudes of his day.

SIMPLICITY IS not such an obvious merit as lucidity. I have aimed at it because I have no gift for richness. Within limits I admire richness in others, though I find it difficult to digest in quantity. I can read one page of Ruskin with delight, but twenty only with weariness. The rolling period, the stately epithet, the noun rich in poetic associations, the subordinate clauses that give the sentence weight and magnificence, the grandeur like that of wave following wave in the open sea; there is no doubt that in all this there is something inspiring. Words thus strung together fall on the ear like music.

The appeal is sensuous rather than intellectual, and the beauty of the sound leads you easily to conclude that you need not bother about the meaning. But words are tyrannical things, they exist for their meanings, and if you will not pay attention to these, you cannot pay attention at all. Your mind wanders. This kind of writing demands a subject that will suit it. It is surely out of place to write in the grand style of inconsiderable things. No one wrote in this manner with greater success than Sir Thomas Browne, but even he did not always escape this pitfall. In the last chapter of *Hydriotaphia* the matter, which is the destiny of man, wonderfully fits the baroque splendour of the language, and here the Norwich doctor produced a piece of prose that has never been surpassed in our literature; but when he describes the finding of his urns in the same splendid manner the effect (at least to my taste) is less happy. When a modern writer is grandiloquent to tell you whether or no a little trollop shall hop into bed with a commonplace young man you are right to be disgusted.

But if richness needs gifts with which everyone is not endowed, simplicity by no means comes by nature. To achieve it needs rigid discipline. So far as I know ours is the only language in which it has been found necessary to give a name to the piece of prose which is described as the purple patch; it would not have been necessary to do so unless it were characteristic. English prose is elaborate rather than simple. It was not always so. Nothing could be more racy, straightforward and alive than the prose of Shakespeare; but it must be remembered that this was dialogue written to be spoken. We do not know how he would have written if like Corneille he had composed prefaces to his plays. It may be that they would have been as euphuistic as the letters of Queen Elizabeth. But earlier prose, the prose of Sir Thomas More, for instance, is neither ponderous, flowery nor oratorical. It smacks of the English soil. To my mind King James's Bible has been a very harmful influence on English prose. I am not so stupid as to deny its great beauty. It is majestical. But the Bible is an oriental book. Its alien imagery has nothing to do with us. Those hyperboles, those luscious metaphors, are foreign to our genius. I cannot but think that not the least of the misfortunes that the Secession from Rome brought upon the spiritual life of our country is that this work for so long a period became the daily, and with many the only, reading of our people. Those rhythms, that powerful vocabulary, that grandiloquence, became part and parcel of the national sensibility. The plain, honest English speech was overwhelmed with ornament. Blunt Englishmen twisted their tongues to speak like Hebrew prophets. There was evidently something in the English temper to which this was congenial, perhaps a native lack of precision in thought, perhaps a naïve delight in fine words for their own sake, an innate eccentricity and love of embroidery, I do not know;

but the fact remains that ever since, English prose has had to struggle against the tendency to luxuriance. When from time to time the spirit of the language has reasserted itself, as it did with Dryden and the writers of Queen Anne, it was only to be submerged once more by the pomposities of Gibbon and Dr. Johnson. When English prose recovered simplicity with Hazlitt, the Shelley of the letters and Charles Lamb at his best, it lost it again with De Quincey, Carlyle, Meredith and Walter Pater. It is obvious that the grand style is more striking than the plain. Indeed many people think that a style that does not attract notice is not style. They will admire Walter Pater's, but will read an essay by Matthew Arnold without giving a moment's attention to the elegance, distinction and sobriety with which he set down what he had to say.

The dictum that the style is the man is well known. It is one of those aphorisms that say too much to mean a great deal. Where is the man in Goethe, in his birdlike lyrics or in his clumsy prose? And Hazlitt? But I suppose that if a man has a confused mind he will write in a confused way, if his temper is capricious his prose will be fantastical, and if he has a quick, darting intelligence that is reminded by the matter in hand of a hundred things he will, unless he has great self-control, load his pages with metaphor and simile. There is a great difference between the magniloquence of the Jacobean writers, who were intoxicated with the new wealth that had lately been brought into the language, and the turgidity of Gibbon and Dr. Johnson, who were the victims of bad theories. I can read every word that Dr. Johnson wrote with delight, for he had good sense, charm and wit. No one could have written better if he had not wilfully set himself to write in the grand style. He knew good English when he saw it. No critic has praised Dryden's prose more aptly. He said of him that he appeared to have no art other than that of expressing with clearness what he thought with vigour. And one of his Lives he finished with the words: "Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison." But when he himself sat down to write it was with a very different aim. He mistook the orotund for the dignified. He had not the good breeding to see that simplicity and naturalness are the truest marks of distinction.

For to write good prose is an affair of good manners. It is, unlike verse, a civil art. Poetry is baroque. Baroque is tragic, massive and mystical. It is elemental. It demands depth and insight. I cannot but feel that the prose writers of the baroque period, the authors of King James's Bible, Sir Thomas Browne, Glanville, were poets who had lost their way. Prose is a rococo art. It needs taste rather than power, decorum rather than inspiration and vigour rather than grandeur. Form for the poet is the bit and the bridle without

which (unless you are an acrobat) you cannot ride your horse; but for the writer of prose it is the chassis without which your car does not exist. It is not an accident that the best prose was written when rococo with its elegance and moderation, at its birth attained its greatest excellence. For rococo was evolved when baroque had become declamatory and the world, tired of the stupendous, asked for restraint. It was the natural expression of persons who valued a civilized life. Humour, tolerance and horse sense made the great tragic issues that had preoccupied the first half of the seventeenth century seem excessive. The world was a more comfortable place to live in and perhaps for the first time in centuries the cultivated classes could sit back and enjoy their leisure. It has been said that good prose should resemble the conversation of a well-bred man. Conversation is only possible when men's minds are free from pressing anxieties. Their lives must be reasonably secure and they must have no grave concern about their souls. They must attach importance to the refinements of civilization. They must value courtesy, they must pay attention to their persons (and have we not also been told that good prose should be like the clothes of a well-dressed man, appropriate but unobtrusive?), they must fear to bore, they must be neither flippant nor solemn, but always apt; and they must look upon "enthusiasm" with a critical glance. This is a soil very suitable for prose. It is not to be wondered at that it gave a fitting opportunity for the appearance of the best writer of prose that our modern world has seen, Voltaire. The writers of English, perhaps owing to the poetic nature of the language, have seldom reached the excellence that seems to have come so naturally to him. It is in so far as they have approached the ease, sobriety and precision of the great French masters that they are admirable.

WHETHER YOU ASCRIBE importance to euphony, the last of the three characteristics that I mentioned, must depend on the sensitiveness of your ear. A great many readers, and many admirable writers, are devoid of this quality. Poets as we know have always made a great use of alliteration. They are persuaded that the repetition of a sound gives an effect of beauty. I do not think it does so in prose. It seems to me that in prose alliteration should be used only for a special reason; when used by accident it falls on the ear very disagreeably. But its accidental use is so common that one can only suppose that the sound of it is not universally offensive. Many writers without distress will put two rhyming words together, join a monstrous long adjective to a monstrous long noun, or between the end of one word and the beginning of another have a conjunction of consonants that almost breaks your jaw. These are trivial and obvious instances. I mention them only to prove that if careful writers can do such things it is only

because they have no ear. Words have weight, sound and appearance; it is only by considering these that you can write a sentence that is good to look at and good to listen to.

I have read many books on English prose, but have found it hard to profit by them; for the most part they are vague, unduly theoretical, and often scolding. But you cannot say this of Fowler's Dictionary of Modern English Usage. It is a valuable work. I do not think anyone writes so well that he cannot learn much from it. It is lively reading. Fowler liked simplicity, straightforwardness and common sense. He had no patience with pretentiousness. He had a sound feeling that idiom was the backbone of a language and he was all for the racy phrase. He was no slavish admirer of logic and was willing enough to give usage right of way through the exact demesnes of grammar. English grammar is very difficult and few writers have avoided making mistakes in it. So heedful a writer as Henry James, for instance, on occasion wrote so ungrammatically that a schoolmaster, finding such errors in a schoolboy's essay, would be justly indignant. It is necessary to know grammar, and it is better to write grammatically than not, but it is well to remember that grammar is common speech formulated. Usage is the only test. I would prefer a phrase that was easy and unaffected to a phrase that was grammatical. One of the differences between French and English is that in French you can be grammatical with complete naturalness, but in English not invariably. It is a difficulty in writing English that the sound of the living voice dominates the look of the printed word. I have given the matter of style a great deal of thought and have taken great pains. I have written few pages that I feel I could not improve and far too many that I have left with dissatisfaction because, try as I would, I could do no better. I cannot say of myself what Johnson said of Pope: "He never passed a fault unamended by indifference, nor quitted it by despair." I do not write as I want to; I write as I can.

But Fowler had no ear. He did not see that simplicity may sometimes make concessions to euphony. I do not think a far-fetched, an archaic or even an affected word is out of place when it sounds better than the blunt, obvious one or when it gives a sentence a better balance. But, I hasten to add, though I think you may without misgiving make this concession to pleasant sound, I think you should make none to what may obscure your meaning. Anything is better than not to write clearly. There is nothing to be said against lucidity, and against simplicity only the possibility of dryness. This is a risk that is well worth taking when you reflect how much better it is to be bald than to wear a curly wig. But there is in euphony a danger that must be considered. It is very likely to be monotonous. When George

Moore began to write, his style was poor; it gave you the impression that he wrote on wrapping paper with a blunt pencil. But he developed gradually a very musical English. He learnt to write sentences that fall away on the ear with a misty languor and it delighted him so much that he could never have enough of it. He did not escape monotony. It is like the sound of water lapping a shingly beach, so soothing that you presently cease to be sensible of it. It is so mellifluous that you hanker for some harshness, for an abrupt dissonance, that will interrupt the silky concord. I do not know how one can guard against this. I suppose the best chance is to have a more lively faculty of boredom than one's readers so that one is wearied before they are. One must always be on the watch for mannerisms and when certain cadences come too easily to the pen ask oneself whether they have not become mechanical. It is very hard to discover the exact point where the idiom one has formed to express oneself has lost its tang. As Dr. Johnson said: "He that has once studiously formed a style, rarely writes afterwards with complete ease." Admirably as I think Matthew Arnold's style was suited to his particular purposes, I must admit that his mannerisms are often irritating. His style was an instrument that he had forged once for all; it was not like the human hand capable of performing a variety of actions.

If you could write lucidly, simply, euphoniously and yet with liveliness you would write perfectly: you would write like Voltaire. And yet we know how fatal the pursuit of liveliness may be: it may result in the tiresome acrobatics of Meredith. Macaulay and Carlyle were in their different ways arresting; but at the heavy cost of naturalness. Their flashy effects distract the mind. They destroy their persuasiveness; you would not believe a man was very intent on ploughing a furrow if he carried a hoop with him and jumped through it at every other step. A good style should show no sign of effort. What is written should seem a happy accident. I think no one in France now writes more admirably than Colette, and such is the ease of her expression that you cannot bring yourself to believe that she takes any trouble over it. I am told that there are pianists who have a natural technique so that they can play in a manner that most executants can achieve only as the result of unremitting toil, and I am willing to believe that there are writers who are equally fortunate. Among them I was much inclined to place Colette. I asked her. I was exceedingly surprised to hear that she wrote everything over and over again. She told me that she would often spend a whole morning working upon a single page. But it does not matter how one gets the effect of ease. For my part, if I get it at all, it is only by strenuous effort. Nature seldom provides me with the word, the turn of phrase, that is appropriate without being far-fetched or commonplace.

Radio, movies, and literature

FROM earliest times, men have found delight and profit in the various arts—painting, sculpture, architecture, music, literature, drama, dancing. More recently, three new arts—motion pictures, radio, and television—have given men pleasure and ministered to certain of their needs. The section which follows considers two of these new arts and one of the older arts. First, H. L. Mencken in "Larval Stage of a Bookworm" describes his earliest experiences as a reader. Next, Francis Coughlin in "The Human Adventure of Radio" and Leo Rosten in "The Long Arm of Hollywood" relate two of the new arts to other aspects of culture in modern society. Finally, Theodore Morrison in "Dover Beach Revisited" shows a series of critics each making his approach to a particular work of art—a poem. Additional selections related to the subject of this section are: "Comedy Isn't All Laughter" (p. 16); "Radio Doesn't Entertain" (p. 23); "Sindlinger's Slide-Rule Authors" (p. 105); "John Steinbeck" (p. 137); and the letters to *The Saturday Review of Literature* (pp. 111-119).

H. L. MENCKEN Larval stage of a bookworm

A personal discovery

THE FIRST LONG STORY I ever read was "The Moose Hunters," a tale of the adventures of four half-grown boys in the woods of Maine, published in *Chatterbox* for 1887. *Chatterbox*, which now seems to be pretty well forgotten, was an English annual that had a large sale, in those days, in the American colonies, and "The Moose Hunters" seems to have been printed as a sort of sop or compliment to that trade, just as an English novelist of today lards his narrative with such cheery native bait as "waal, pardner," "you betcha" and "geminy-crickets." The rest of the 1887 issue was made up of intensely English stuff; indeed, it was so English that, reading it and looking at the woodcuts, I sucked in an immense mass of useless information about English history and the English scene, so that to this day I know more about Henry VIII and Lincoln Cathedral than I know about Millard Fillmore or the Mormon Temple at Salt Lake City.

"The Moose Hunters," which ran to the length of a full-length juvenile, was not printed in one gob, but spread through *Chatterbox* in installments. This was an excellent device, for literary fans in the youngest brackets do their reading slowly and painfully, and like to come up frequently for air. But writing down to them is something else again, and that error the anonymous author of "The Moose Hunters" avoided diligently. Instead, he wrote in the best journalese of the era, and treated his sixteen-year-old heroes precisely as if they were grown men. So I liked his story very much, and stuck to it until, in a series of perhaps twenty sessions, I had got it down.

This was in the Summer of 1888 and during hot weather, for I remember sitting with the volume on the high marble front steps of our house in Hollins street, in the quiet of approaching dusk, and hearing my mother's warnings that reading by failing light would ruin my eyes. The neighborhood apprentices to gang life went howling up and down the sidewalk, trying to lure me into their games of follow-your-leader and run-sheep-run, but I was not to be lured, for I had discovered a new realm of being and a new and powerful enchantment. What was follow-your-leader to fighting savage Canucks on the Little Magalloway river, and what was chasing imaginary sheep to shooting real meese? I was near the end of the story, with the Canucks all beaten off and two carcasses of gigantic meese hanging to trees, before the author made it clear to me that the word *moose* had no plural, but remained unchanged *ad infinitum.*

Such discoveries give a boy a considerable thrill, and augment his sense of dignity. It is no light matter, at eight, to penetrate suddenly to the difference between *to, two* and *too,* or to that between *run* in baseball and *run* in topographical science, or *cats* and *Katz.* The effect is massive and profound, and at least comparable to that which flows, in later life, out of filling a royal flush or debauching the wife of a major-general of cavalry. I must have made some effort to read *Chatterbox* at the time my Grandmother Mencken gave it to me, which was at Christmas, 1887, but for a while it was no go. I could spell out the shorter pieces at the bottoms of columns, but the longer stories were only jumbles of strange and baffling words. But then, as if by miracle, I found suddenly that I could read them, so I tackled "The Moose Hunters" at once, and stuck to it to the end. There were still, of course, many hard words, but they were no longer insurmountable obstacles. If I staggered and stumbled somewhat, I nevertheless hung on, and by the Fourth of July, 1888, I had blooded my first book.

An interval of rough hunting followed in Hollins street and the adjacent alleys, with imaginary Indians, robbers and sheep and very real tomcats as the quarry. Also, I was introduced to chewing tobacco by the garbageman, who passed me his plug as I lay on the roof of the ash-shed at the end of

the backyard, watching him at his public-spirited work. If he expected me to roll off the roof, clutching at my midriff, he was fooled, for I managed to hold on until he was out of sight, and I was only faintly dizzy even then. Again, I applied myself diligently to practicing leap-frog with my brother Charlie, and to mastering the rules of top-spinning, catty and one-two-three. I recall well how it impressed me to learn that, by boys' law, every new top had to have a license burned into it with a red-hot nail, and that no strange boy on the prowl for loot, however black-hearted, would venture to grab a top so marked. That discovery gave me a sense of the majesty of the law which still sustains me, and I always take off my hat when I meet a judge—if, of course, it is in any place where a judge is not afraid to have his office known.

But pretty soon I was again feeling the powerful suction of beautiful letters—so strange, so thrilling, and so curiously suggestive of the later suction of amour—, and before Christmas I was sweating through the translation of Grimms' Fairy Tales that had been bestowed upon me, "for industry and good deportment," at the closing exercises of F. Knapp's Institute on June 28. This volume had been put into lame, almost pathological English by a lady translator, and my struggles with it awoke in me the first faint gutterings of the critical faculty. Just what was wrong with it I couldn't, of course, make out, for my gifts had not yet flowered, but I was acutely and unhappily conscious that it was much harder going than "The Moose Hunters," and after a month or so of unpleasantly wrestling with it I put it on the shelf. There it remained for more than fifty years. Indeed, it was not until the appearance of "Snow White" as a movie that I took it down and tried it again, and gagged at it again.

The second experiment convinced me that the fault, back in 1888, must have been that of either the brothers Grimm or their lady translator, but I should add that there was also some apparent resistant within my own psyche. I was born, in truth, without any natural taste for fairy tales, or, indeed, for any other writing of a fanciful and unearthly character. The fact explains, I suppose, my lifelong distrust of poetry, and may help to account for my inability to memorize even a few stanzas of it at school. It probably failed to stick in my mind simply because my mind rejected it as nonsense—sometimes, to be sure, very jingly and juicy nonsense, but still only nonsense. No doubt the same infirmity was responsible for the feebleness of my appetite for the hortatory and incredible juvenile fiction fashionable in my nonage—the endless works of Oliver Optic, Horatio Alger, Harry Castlemon and so on. I tried this fiction more than once, for some of the boys I knew admired it vastly, but I always ran aground in it. So far as I can recall, I never read a single volume of it to the end, and most of it finished me in a few pages.

What I disliked about it I couldn't have told you then, and I can account for my aversion even now only on the theory that I appear to have come into the world with a highly literal mind, geared well enough to take in overt (and usually unpleasant) facts, but very ill adapted to engulfing the pearls of the imagination. All such pearls tend to get entangled in my mental *vibrissae*, and the effort to engulf them is as disagreeable to me as listening to a sermon or reading an editorial in a second-rate (or even first-rate) newspaper. I was a grown man, and far gone in sin, before I ever brought myself to tackle "Alice in Wonderland," and even then I made some big skips, and wondered sadly how and why such feeble jocosity had got so high a reputation. I am willing to grant that it must be a masterpiece, as my betters allege—but not to *my* taste, not for *me*. To the present moment I can't tell you what is in any of the other juvenile best-sellers of my youth, of moral and sociological hallucination all compact, just as I can't tell you what is in the Bhagavad-Gita (which Will Levington Comfort urged me to read in 1912 or thereabout), or in the works of Martin Tupper, or in the report of Vassar Female College for 1865. I tried dime-novels once, encouraged by a boy who aspired to be a train-robber, but they only made me laugh. At a later time, discovering the pseudo-scientific marvels of Jules Verne, I read his whole canon, and I recall also sweating through a serial in a boys' weekly called *Golden Days*, but this last dealt likewise with *savants* and their prodigies, and was no more a juvenile, as juveniles were then understood, than "Ten Thousand Leagues Under the Sea."

But before you set me down a prig, let me tell you the rest of it. That rest of it is my discovery of "Huckleberry Finn," probably the most stupendous event of my whole life. The time was the early part of 1889, and I wandered into Paradise by a kind of accident. Itching to exercise my newly acquired art of reading, and with "The Moose Hunters" exhausted and Grimms' Fairy Tales playing me false, I began exploring the house for print. The Baltimore *Sunpaper* and *Evening News*, which came in daily, stumped me sadly, for they were full of political diatribes in the fashion of the time, and I knew no more about politics than a chimpanzee. My mother's long file of *Godey's Lady's Book* and her new but growing file of the *Ladies' Home Journal* were worse, for they dealt gloomily with cooking, etiquette, the policing of children, and the design and construction of millinery, all of them sciences that still baffle me. Nor was there any pabulum for me in the hired girl's dog's-eared files of *Bow Bells* and the *Fireside Companion*, the first with its ghastly woodcuts of English milkmaids in bustles skedaddling from concupiscent baronets in frock-coats and corkscrew mustaches. So I gradually oscillated, almost in despair, toward the old-fashioned secretary in the sitting-room, the upper works of which were full of dismal volumes in the black cloth and gilt stamping of the era. I had often eyed them from afar, wonder-

ing how long it would be before I would be ripe enough to explore them. Now I climbed up on a chair, and began to take them down.

They had been assembled by my father, whose taste for literature in its purer states was of generally low order of visibility. Had he lived into the days of my practice as a literary critic, I daresay he would have been affected almost as unpleasantly as if I had turned out a clergyman, or a circus clown, or a labor leader. He read every evening after dinner, but it was chiefly newspapers that he read, for the era was one of red-hot politics, and he was convinced that the country was going to Hell. Now and then he took up a book, but I found out long afterward that it was usually some pamphlet on the insoluble issues of the hour, say "Looking Backward," or "If Christ Came to Chicago," or "Life Among the Mormons." These works disquieted him, and he naturally withheld them from his innocent first-born. Moreover, he was still unaware that I could read—that is, fluently, glibly, as a pleasure rather than a chore, in the manner of grown-ups.

Nevertheless, he had managed somehow to bring together a far from contemptible collection of books, ranging from a set of Chambers' Encyclopedia in five volumes, bound in leather like the Revised Statutes, down to "Atlantis: the Antediluvian World," by Ignatius Donnelly, and "Around the World in the Yacht *Sunbeam*." It included a two-volume folio of Shakespeare in embossed morocco, with fifty-odd steel plates, that had been taken to the field in the Civil War by "William H. Abercrombie, 1st Lieut. Company H, 6th Regiment, Md. Vol. Inftr.," and showed a corresponding dilapidation. Who this gallant officer was I don't know, or whether he survived the carnage, or how his cherished text of the Bard ever fell into my father's hands. Also, there were Dickens in three thick volumes, George Eliot in three more, and William Carleton's Irish novels in a third three. Again, there were "Our Living World," by the Rev. J. G. Woods; "A History of the War For the Union," by E. A. Duyckinck; "Our Country," by Benson J. Lossing, LL.D., and "A Pictorial History of the World's Great Nations From the Earliest Dates to the Present Time," by Charlotte M. Yonge—all of them likewise in threes, folio, with lavish illustrations on steel, stone and wood, and smelling heavily of the book-agent. Finally, there were forty or fifty miscellaneous books, among them, as I recall, "Peculiarities of American Cities," by Captain Willard Glazier; "Our Native Land," by George T. Ferris; "A Compendium of Forms," by one Glaskell; "Adventures Among Cannibals" (with horrible pictures of missionaries being roasted, boiled and fried), "Uncle Remus," "Ben Hur," "Peck's Bad Boy," "The Adventures of Baron Münchhausen," "One Thousand Proofs That the Earth Is Not a Globe" (by a forgotten Baltimore advanced thinker named Carpenter), and a deadly-looking

"History of Freemasonry in Maryland," by Brother Edward T. Schultz, 32°, in five coal-black volumes.

I leave the best to the last. All of the above, on my first exploration, repelled and alarmed me; indeed, I have never read some of them to this day. But among them, thumbing round, I found a series of eight or ten volumes cheek by jowl, and it appeared on investigation that the whole lot had been written by a man named Mark Twain. I had heard my father mention this gentleman once or twice in talking to my mother, but I had no idea who he was or what he had done: he might have been, for all I knew, a bartender, a baseball-player, or one of the boozy politicoes my father was always meeting in Washington. But here was evidence that he was a man who wrote books, and I noted at once that the pictures in those books were not of the usual funereal character, but light, loose and lively. So I proceeded with my inquiry, and in a little while I had taken down one of them, a green quarto, sneaked it to my bedroom, and stretched out on my bed to look into it. It was, as smarties will have guessed by now, "Huckleberry Finn."

If I undertook to tell you the effect it had upon me my talk would sound frantic, and even delirious. Its impact was genuinely terrific. I had not gone further than the first incomparable chapter before I realized, child though I was, that I had entered a domain of new and gorgeous wonders, and thereafter I pressed on steadily to the last word. My gait, of course, was still slow, but it became steadily faster as I proceeded. As the blurbs on the slip-covers of murder mysteries say, I simply couldn't put the book down. After dinner that evening, braving a possible uproar, I took it into the family sitting-room, and resumed it while my father searched the *Evening News* hopefully for reports of the arrest, clubbing and hanging of labor leaders. Anon, he noticed what I was at, and demanded to know the name of the book I was reading. When I held up the green volume his comment was "Well, I'll be durned!"

I sensed instantly that there was no reproof in this, but a kind of shy rejoicing. Then he told me that he had once been a great reader of Mark Twain himself—in his younger days. He had got hold of all the volumes as they came out—"The Innocents" in 1869, when he was still a boy himself; "Roughing It" in 1872, "The Gilded Age" in 1873, "Tom Sawyer" in 1876, "A Tramp Abroad" in 1880, the year of my birth, and so on down to date. (All these far from pristine firsts are still in the Biblioteca Menckeniana in Hollins street, minus a few that were lent to neighbor boys and never returned, and had to be replaced.) My father read them in the halcyon days before children, labor troubles and Grover Cleveland had begun to frazzle him, and he still got them down from the shelf on quiet evenings, after the

first-named were packed off to bed. But a man of advancing years and cares had to consider also the sorrows of the world, and so he read in Mark less than aforetime.

As for me, I proceeded to take the whole canon at a gulp—and presently gagged distressfully. "Huckleberry Finn," of course, was as transparent to a boy of eight as to a man of eighty, and almost as pungent and exhilarating, but there were passages in "A Tramp Abroad" that baffled me, and many more in "The Innocents," and a whole swarm in "A Gilded Age." I well recall wrestling with the woodcut by W. F. Brown on page 113 of the "Tramp." It shows five little German girls swinging on a heavy chain stretched between two stone posts on a street in Heilbronn, and the legend under it is "Generations of Bare Feet." That legend is silly, for all the girls have shoes on, but what puzzled me about it was something quite different. It was a confusion between the word *generation* and the word *federation*, which latter was often in my father's speech in those days, for the American Federation of Labor had got under way only a few years before, and was just beginning in earnest to harass and alarm employers. Why I didn't consult the dictionary (or my mother, or my father himself) I simply can't tell you. At eight or nine, I suppose, intelligence is no more than a small spot of light on the floor of a large and murky room. So instead of seeking help I passed on, wondering idiotically what possible relation there could be between a gang of little girls in pigtails and the Haymarket anarchists, and it was six or seven years later before the "Tramp" became clear to me, and began to delight me.

It then had the curious effect of generating in me both a great interest in Germany and a vast contempt for the German language. I was already aware, of course, that the Mencken family was of German origin, for my Grandfather Mencken, in his care for me as *Stammhalter*, did not neglect to describe eloquently its past glories at the German universities, and to expound its connections to the most remote degrees. But my father, who was only half German, had no apparent interest in either the German land or its people, and when he spoke of the latter at all, which was not often, it was usually in sniffish terms. He never visited Germany, and never signified any desire to do so, though I recall my mother suggesting, more than once, that a trip there would be swell. It was "A Tramp Abroad" that made me German-conscious, and I still believe that it is the best guidebook to Germany ever written. Today, of course, it is archaic, but it was still reliable down to 1910, when I made my own first trip. The uproarious essay on "The Awful German Language," which appears at the end of it as an appendix, worked the other way. That is to say, it confirmed my growing feeling, born of my struggles with the conjugations and declensions taught at F.

Knapp's Institute, that German was an irrational and even insane tongue, and not worth the sufferings of a freeborn American. These diverse impressions have continued with me ever since. I am still convinced that Germany, in the intervals of peace, is the most pleasant country to travel in ever heard of, and I am still convinced that the German language is of a generally preposterous and malignant character.

"Huck," of course, was my favorite, and I read it over and over. In fact, I read it regularly not less than annually down to my forties, and only a few months ago I hauled it out and read it once more—and found it as magnificent as ever.

FRANCIS C. COUGHLIN The human adventure of radio

This radio presentation, of June 8, 1944, was one of "The Human Adventure" series, produced by Sherman H. Dryer under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago and the Mutual Broadcasting System. The purpose of the series was to present "true, dramatic stories of science and research in the world's great universities." Generally the program dealt with basic, fundamental research such as the study of cancer, anthropological investigations, even the Einstein theory. Here, interestingly and informatively, it dramatized some of the findings of social science about radio. The study by Professor Ogburn to which it refers has been published in the book Recent Social Trends.

ANNOUNCER. Tonight the Human Adventure brings you a study of the medium to which you and one hundred million Americans are listeners—a scientist's report on the social impact of radio.

Sound: A tune suggests mystery, then fantasy, then fades away.

NARRATOR. This evening, ladies and gentlemen, enter with us upon a moment of fantasy. Let us imagine, not that we are invaded by men from Mars —but that we ourselves are peaceful visitors to that sister planet. Further let us imagine that we are visitors to a Martian institute of science—that we are, in fact, interplanetary exchange students at one of the great universities of the universe.

Sound: An orchestra plays the "Alma Mater" of Mars College.

NARRATOR. Hearing the Martian Alma Mater, we are present, now, on Mars.

Used by permission of the Mutual Broadcasting System; Sherman H. Dryer, radio station WGN; the University of Chicago.

As we enter the amazingly intricate electromagnetic laboratory of the scientific institute, two Martian scientists are speaking. Dr. Obolog of the faculty of Martian social sciences and Dr. Paastek of the physics consortium. . . .

DR. OBOLOG (*speaking with an accent*). My dear Dr. Paastek, are we ready for the reception?

DR. PAASTEK. As you know, Dr. Obolog, I deal only with the physical phenomena. But as to the reception of earth signals—quite ready.

Sound: The click of a radio switch.

PAASTEK. Thus we begin the induction impulse. We adjust the amplifiers.

Sound: The low hum of a vibrator.

PAASTEK. Now, the planet Earth. Very primitive, very backward, very unscientific, the earth. But I suppose, to you social scientists, interesting also.

Sound: Vibrator changes pitch.

PAASTEK. Ah, that's better. We should bring the Earth in now. Enough to give us an idea what goes on there—electronically speaking, of course.

OBOLOG. The structure, function, nature, of earth society. That is my study.

Sound: Radio static as dial is turned.

PAASTEK. Now, the earth will speak to us. . . . Listen. . . .

VOICE. Momee! I want a Salerno butter cookie!

PAASTEK. Great comets! What's that mean?

OBOLOG (*pedantically*). It is what is called "advertisement."

PAASTEK. Incredible!

OBOLOG. Let's hear more!

Sound: The click of tuning in a radio. Then, immediately, a band is heard playing "The British Grenadiers" in a lively fashion.

PAASTEK. Hum-m! Rather gay! Very cheerful! It's their Spring down there. I suppose this is a tribal festival honoring the Vernal Season . . . ?

OBOLOG (*smilingly*). As a matter of fact, it's a war dance, Doctor. A war dance of the Great England folk. They're doing something called changing the guardians at Buckingham's Palace.

PAASTEK. Rather catchy tune.

OBOLOG. Yes, isn't it? Very quaint. Try another earth station. . . .

Sound: Music fades out and there is the sound of tuning.

ORATOR (*delivering a passionate address*). Oh, my friends, I bid you heed the warning of the framers of our Republic!

OBOLOG. This is how they are governed. Let's have him a bit louder.

ORATOR. We must say to this tyrannous bureaucracy, to this proliferating pollution of place-holding functionaries—we must say give the pe-pul's power back to the pe-pul!

Sound: A click chops off the speech.

PAASTEK. My! Radical, wasn't he?

OBOLOG. Oh, not at all. Very noted conservative. They talk like that down there. Another station, please.

Sound: There is the click of tuning, followed by the music of a hill-billy band which seems to be made up mostly of cowbells.

OBOLOG. This I believe they call opera. Another. . . .

Sound: The click of a radio switch, followed by a crowd roar, then a voice.

HITLER. Meine verliebe folkgnossen, wir nussen mussen lussen haben lebensraum, lebensraum—lebensraum!!!

OBOLOG. Oh . . . quickly, out. . . . That barbarian. The worst of the earth people. . . . Savages. . . .

Sound: The click of the switch, followed by crack of baseball bat, then roar of a crowd.

SPORTS ANNOUNCER. There it goes! It's Gametti's long drive into the center field. It's going, going—A HOME RUN! Listen to those cheers!

OBOLOG. This is a public ceremony at which earth dwellers gather to drink what is called pop—eat what are called peanuts.

PAASTEK. But why——

OBOLOG. In the present state of our science—impossible to say.

PAASTEK. Astonishing beings. And what are called these electromagnetic disturbances on the earth?

OBOLOG. Oh, the phenomena themselves—all of this is called ra-di-o!

Sound: Music—a gay tune with trombones laughing.

ANNOUNCER (*smiling*). Here is your host on the Human Adventure, Mr. Walter Yust, the editor of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

MR. YUST. The phenomenon called radio, most of us take for granted. As listeners we accept the stimulation, the news, the entertainment, and the information brought us by man's most effective medium of mass communication with little sense of its novelty, and with very little reflection upon its possible effects upon us and upon our society. Yet in listening to radio, we, as individuals, we, as members of the varied human groups which go to make up the vast complex of societies which we call America —*we* participate. *We* are moulded. *We* are conditioned by radio.

Now the study of the social change, the study which has for its fields of inquiry our own human society and its institutions, is the science of sociology. Tonight, in dramatizing portions of Professor William Fielding Ogburn's inquiry into the social effects of radio, we bring you the work of a distinguished social scientist whose work at the University of Chicago has been acclaimed as a tremendously interesting contribution to the study of the social effects of invention. It is another chapter in the story of university research into man's effort to grasp, to understand, and to put

to fruitful use the resources of his world. Brought you on this occasion through the collaboration of the Mutual Broadcasting System and the University of Chicago, tonight's study is a study of ourselves. Our adventure is the Human Adventure.

Sound: A few strains of lively music.

NARRATOR. Though we take today's radio for granted, few of us realize how very new even yesterday's radio was. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century radio began as an observation in many a university laboratory. In the middle and the late 1890's radio began to speak.

Sound: Chitter of spark-gap wireless key.

NARRATOR. The new voice was the dot-and-dash gibberish of the spark gap Marconi called wireless telegraphy, later improved by the wireless telegraph key. From 1904 to 1914, in the half score of years before World War I, Fleming's and De Forrest's vacuum tubes gave the human voice radio transmission. (*Then in a voice distorted by filter*) A voice that sounded harsh, un-true, mechanical—like this. (*In regular voice again*) And then, almost literally overnight, radio came to its present stature. Today's radio voice is clear, full-toned, perfectly transmitted.

Sound: Musical passage.

NARRATOR. Of the decade from 1920 to 1930—the decade which saw the establishment of nation-wide broadcasting and reception of radio, tall, slow-spoken, factual Professor William Fielding Ogburn, Head of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago and director of research of the Hoover Commission on Social Trends, writes of his work in collaboration with Dr. Colum Gilfillan:

OGBURN. From surveys, field investigations, records, special university studies, industrial and educational reports, one hundred and fifty social effects have been noted in an intensive study of radio. Of particular importance have been those social effects having to do with the uniformity and diffusion of cultural standards and content.

NARRATOR. Of thousands of examples of uniformity and diffusion Professor Ogburn has chosen for illustration a typical cowboy song. (*A guitar begins to play*) The cowboy song is regional, limited in primary appeal. It is local in its origin and significance. . . .

Sound: Cowboy singing "The Old Chisholm Trail," guitar accompaniment:

Come along, boys, and listen to my tale,
I'll tell you of my troubles on the old Chisholm trail.
  Coma ti yi youpy, youpy yea, youpy yea,
  Coma ti yi youpy youpy yea.
On a ten-dollar horse and a forty-dollar saddle,
And I'm goin' to punchin' Texas cattle.

OGBURN. A cowboy song, an intimate part of workaday life on the cattle ranges of the Southwest. It is a frank, perhaps a naïve expression of the cowboy's interests and his world. But in the metropolitan, highly professionalized world of stage and radio entertainment, the cowboy song becomes a model for a kind of intellectual humor—a humor detached, sophisticated, and ironic, as for instance:

Sound: Crooner singing "I'm an Old Cow Hand," orchestral accompaniment:

I'm an old cow hand, from the Rio Grande,
But my laigs ain't bowed, and my cheeks ain't tanned;
Never rode a steer, never roped a cow,
And the reason is that I don't know how,
And I sure ain't fixin' to learn 'er now,
Yippee, yi O ki a-y-y!

OGBURN (*chuckling*). Thus the cow hand goes to the city. And, in turn, the city entertainer makes his influence felt through 10,000 radios in the range country. Most important of all, city and country alike achieve a new oneness, a unity of feeling and outlook. The drug-store cowboy can—and does—come to have a good deal in common with the young fellow who rides the range.

NARRATOR. One of the further effects noted by Dr. Ogburn in his study of the social effects of radio was the greater appreciation of the international nature of music. For radio has also helped tremendously in the establishment of artistic taste and the appreciation of cultural values.

Sound: Symphony orchestra is heard playing a climactic passage in a famous symphony. The music fades to a background.

FARMER. We don't get into the city for a concert more'n once a year, George. But this is one program we make it a point not to miss. Plain water with yours, Edna?

SOCIETY WOMAN. A splendid program rendition, isn't it? So very much like the Bayreuth performances.

RUSTIC. Well, Maw, you kin have Chai-kow-ski, Wagner, and Sosh-ta-kavich if you want 'em. F'r me, I'll take this music every time!

MR. KATZ. Listen on dat, Hymie. (*Slap*) Listen, so you'll practice the fiddle.

NARRATOR. Thus regional and economic differences in culture tend to become less pronounced. The musical and artistic standards of the city tend to become established in villages and in the country. In very much the same way, metropolitan and rural ethical standards tend to become unified.

OGBURN. In some instances, the social effects of radio might well have been anticipated. We might well have expected the emergence of new careers and occupations. We might have foreseen new business opportunities, new educational methods, new speaking and entertainment techniques.

These we have found in our studies. But we did not foresee such things as:

MAN. In the music publishing business we notice a revival of interest in old songs, plays, melodramas, and operettas.

WOMAN. Why, my children know as much about what's going on in the world as I do—maybe more.

POLICEMAN. We used to send the wagon for crooks. Now we radio a squad car to bring 'em in.

MAESTRO. Soprano, she-a singa not so good for radio. Contralto, she's-a moocha better.

PILOT. We were flying blind out of Omaha when we picked up the beam. After that we came in O.K.

GIRL. Paul Whiteman's fine, I guess. But Harry James—he *sends* me.

FARMER. I figger a farmer's better off knowin' crop reports and board of trade prices. So I listen in.

KIBITZER (*ponderously*). I am especially inter-ested in forums, discussions, intellectual give and take.

SALESMAN. Yes, Madam. You'll find these late phonograph records are much finer recordings. Perhaps it's because of the quality demand brought into being by radio.

LITTLE GIRL. Who wants an autograph of Mussolini? I gotta peachy one of the Lone Ranger!

ADVERTISER. There are, at the present time, 25 regional and 4 national networks. The national networks service 559 stations. Gentlemen, *this* is *our* mass medium.

OGBURN. These are typical individual opinions reflecting various social viewpoints. They are but a handful chosen from hundreds of examples. Naturally they vary in the number of individuals affected, and in the importance of that influence. But one specific type of radio program is designed to meet the needs of a tremendous number of listeners. It is addressed to a selected portion of the population—to women. No single program of this type commands a very large percentage of the daytime audience—but in the aggregate their audience is enormous. I am referring, of course, to the melodramatic playlet. Customarily, the playlet begins with a highly sentimentalized musical opening. . . .

Sound: Organ music, playing drippily sentimental theme song to introduce "soap opera." The music swells and then fades to background.

ANNOUNCER (*pretentiously*). The Marriage of Gladys and Peter! The story of a beautiful, sensitive, radiant woman . . . her lovely child . . . her brave but harassed husband. . . . The Story which is *your* story, of *your* life, of *your* charm and courage, brought you by your friends, the makers of Super-scented, all-purpose, Universal *Soap* and soap pellets! The Marriage of Gladys and Peter!

OGBURN. Next a highly personalized sales appeal. . . .

ANNOUNCER (*unctuously*). Ladies, are you always *very* sure your beauty and your charm reflect the *real* you? The radiant girl who whispered, "I do," plighting her troth to *his* pledge of love and security and affection? Ladies, are you *very* sure you are that same beautiful bride? Or do you find your rose petal skin become a little flaked, just a little lined, just a little scaly? You do? Why, there's no need for work-worn hands, for telltale wrinkles, for wrapping-paper skin. Not if you use that modern scientific beauty boon: Super-scented, all-purpose, Universal Soap and soap pellets.

Sound: Organ music swells, then fades away.

OGBURN. Then an extremely emotionalized dramatic narrative.

GLADYS (*sobbing*). Peter, Peter, what have they done to you . . . What have they done to us?

PETER. It'll be all right, Gladys. It'll be all right. It's only that the auditors are going over the books at the office.

GLADYS. The books at the office? But Peter, they don't think. . . . They can't think that you. . . .

PETER. Of course not, darling. I've explained everything to Mr. Folio. It's only that the auditor is Daniel Syllabus.

GLADYS (*excitedly*). Daniel Syllabus! Peter, the one who——

PETER (*bitterly*). The man who danced with you at the Country Club. The man you thought was so charming with his continental airs. The man who was so interesting to talk to.

GLADYS. But Peter, there wasn't anything—I swear it.

PETER. Gladys—(*Sighs*) You do?

GLADYS. Peter—(*Sighs*) I swear it.

PETER. Gladys—(*Sighs*) Thank heaven.

GLADYS. Peter! My dearest—(*Sobs stormily*) Oh Peter, Peter, Peter—what have we done with our lives?

PETER. And little Penny's life. Poor little tyke! Is the doctor with her?

GLADYS. Waiting until you came, Peter. He's afraid it's——

PETER. No!

GLADYS. Her eyes—Peter! Penny may never see again.

PETER. Great Scott!

GLADYS. We must be brave, Peter. Penny's blind.

PETER. Blind! Oh Gladys, Gladys, what have we done with our lives?

Sound: Doorbell off.

GLADYS. Don't answer it, Peter.

PETER. I must.

GLADYS. I love you, Peter. Whatever happens, I——

PETER. I adore you, darling. Whatever happens, I——

Sound: Doorbell rings urgently.

GLADYS. Oh Peter, Peter, Peter——

Sound: Gladys continues to sob as the announcer speaks.

ANNOUNCER. Will Daniel Syllabus turn Mr. Folio against Peter? Will little Penny remain blind? What will happen to Gladys? What will happen to Peter? What will happen to their marriage?

RUDE VOICE. Who cares?

NARRATOR. Oh, many persons care. The writer, the director, the advertising agency, the station, the sponsor, the cast, the sound-effects men, the engineer, the announcer, and the audience—they care. The radio industry, employing hundreds of thousands of wage-earners, and deriving 257 million dollars in advertising revenue, as of 1942—the radio industry cares passionately. And Professor Ogburn cares.

OGBURN. The radio playlet offers the listener a vicarious participation in many of the conflicting situations of modern life. But it does so within a rather definite personal scope and social setting. As Paul F. Lazarsfeld, of Columbia University, points out: "The settings of some 300 daytime serials are middle class and are used to lend glamour to the middle class settings rather than to play a role of their own. All problems are of an individualistic nature. It is not social forces, but the virtues and vices of the central characters that move the events along. People lose jobs, not for economic reasons, but because their fellow men lie or are envious. A simple black and white technique avoids any insoluble conflicts. No other effect than the re-enforcement of already existing attitudes can be expected from such programs."

RUDE VOICE. Sounds bad.

NARRATOR. Not too good. Not too bad. As Professor Ogburn points out——

OGBURN. We may expect a gradual improvement in taste and understanding as high-school and college graduates form increasingly larger portions of our population. Radio tends to favor a standard English pronunciation; it opens a new world to backward and underprivileged groups. Many fine programs compete—and successfully—with programs designed to appeal to average levels of understanding. Moreover, radio is a powerful amplifier of prestige and a teacher of modesty, courage, and tolerance. Millions of Americans, for instance, have heard——

Sound: Crowd cheers, bell clangs.

SPORTS ANNOUNCER. That was a terrific right-hand blow right on the button, but he's coming around all right. Joe Louis has crossed the ring to shake his opponent's hand. We'll have the champion at the microphone in just one moment. Here he is. . . . Ladies and gentlemen, you've heard the announcement. . . . The winner and still the world's champion, Joe Louis. How do you feel, Joe?

JOE (*panting but polite*). I'm O.K. now. I want to say hello to all my friends.

ANNOUNCER. Joe, you looked great in there. Tell, us did he hurt you at any time?

JOE. I knew I was in a fight.

ANNOUNCER. It was a good clean bout, wasn't it, Joe?

JOE. Clean all the way.

ANNOUNCER. Did he have you worried, Joe?

JOE. In the fifth and sixth. I'm lucky to be the winner.

ANNOUNCER. How about a return bout, Joe?

JOE. Any time my managers say so. He's a good boy, a mighty good boy.

ANNOUNCER. Well, Joe, how does it feel to be still the champion?

JOE. It feels the same. I'm still ready to meet any contender.

ANNOUNCER. Thank you, Joe Louis. Ladies and gentlemen, you've heard a ring interview with the winner and still the world's champion. This is Jack Brickhouse talking from the Champions arena in Boxiana Park, scene of tonight's 15 round heavyweight contest. . . . (*His voice fades*)

Sound: Orchestra playing "The Sidewalks of New York." The music fades.

NARRATOR. Joe Louis serves as an example in sportsmanship to millions of Americans of all races and many creeds. His conduct in a contest, his words from the ring, his attitudes and personality leave their impact upon you, your family, your associates. Hearing him, you feel you *know* Joe Louis. As Professor Ogburn puts it——

OGBURN. One of the most important radio effects is the conferring of great prestige upon *top* individuals, and this on a national scale. Lesser figures receive little notice. Thus the top-ranking radio comedians, Fred Allen, Jack Benny, Fibber McGee, Bob Hope, and others, are widely acclaimed. But how well do you know your local and regional entertainers? In government, again, the great national figures dominate the scene. Millions of listeners have heard President Roosevelt—one of the great radio personalities of our time. You may agree with Mr. Roosevelt. You may disagree with him. But do you feel you *know* his opponents? What about candidates for local party office? Can you name your congressman? Your alderman? Your ward committeeman? In other words, the great names in art and science, in criticism and government and comment, all tend to outweigh, by far, their potential rivals.

Sound: Orchestra plays a strain of solemn and stately music.

NARRATOR. Into the peacetime pattern of music, drama, news, and entertainment established by multiple-station radio broadcasting during the late 20's and early 30's the dark design and the violent colors of war were woven as a new motif—a motif increasingly ominous as the years drew on toward Armageddon. But in contrast to all previous crises in man's history, you, the listener, were a participant in world events. You did not

merely *read* of far-off happenings. You did not *happen* upon the chance conversations of casual travellers—even if you knew such men. You did not learn of events as remote in space and weeks removed in time. Instead, you, as a common man in a radio world, had but to click a switch—and history marched into your living room. On radio, the Nazi dictator screamed and threatened, and his hysteria was translated for you in your home.

HITLER (*shouting hysterically*). No German will ever go to a peace conference without arms at his disposal.

NARRATOR. And then to America and to the world, the voice of one of the great elected leaders of one of the world's great democracies—the John Bull bellow and growl of Winston Churchill——

CHURCHILL. This combination—this combination of medieval passions, coupled with the threat of indiscriminate bombing of civilians, is the greatest menace to civilization since the Mongol hordes threatened the life of Europe.

NARRATOR. Those were the real voices of a real history as recorded from living broadcasts. This was the story told by correspondents and newsmen, eyewitnesses and commentators.

Sound: Static.

VOICE. This is London. . . .

VOICE. This is Berlin. . . .

VOICE. This is Manila. . . .

VOICE. This is Moscow. . . .

NARRATOR. For the first time in the history of man, the peoples and the nations of the world hear simultaneously, know instantly the global news of global war. They learn that news by the spoken word. They follow it through the eyewitness reports of trained observers. They follow it through the eyewitness story told in immense detail. Through radio communication the world has become a village—and America is one main street. So it was that when the allied invasion surged across the Channel last Tuesday morning, America moved in with the first overwhelming wave.

Sound: Music, full orchestra, swells confidently and then fades to background.

NARRATOR. Main street went along with the bombers, found place in the fighter-plane cover. Townsman and villager alike manned the bombardment fleet, rode in the landing ships, crowded the assault craft. Farmer and factory worker swarmed up the beaches, joined with the paratroop spearheads, pushed on with the assault teams. You who have merged your prayers and joined your hopes with the prayers and hopes of the free world—you who felt instantly, deeply, movingly the crusade-feeling of invasion—*you* are a part of this new world because of a new medium of

communication. A unity of life and outlook, a community of will and idea, a living reality of ideal and understanding—you are part of this present world, a world informed and influenced—by radio!

Sound: Music swells again, fades away.

ANNOUNCER. And here again, your host on the Human Adventure, the editor of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*—Mr. Walter Yust.

YUST. There are today, in America, twice as many radios as there are passenger cars, wired homes, electric irons. There are three times as many radios as there are gas ranges, refrigerators, telephones. Nine in every 10 American homes know and use and learn and are entertained by a medium unknown a scant generation past. We must look, now, to the arts and humanities for standards of value, and to the social sciences for measurements of the social effects of this new medium upon modern man and the institutions of his world. To provide for the common defense (against ignorance), to promote the general welfare (through science), and to secure the blessings of liberty (through social institutions)—*that* is the Human Adventure!

LEO C. ROSTEN The long arm of Hollywood

"This book," wrote the author in the preface to the volume from which this excerpt is taken, "is primarily concerned with putting Hollywood under the microscopes of social science." For three years, the author and a staff of social scientists worked in the moving-picture city to collect materials—circulating questionnaires, interviewing the people in the industry, studying Hollywood publications. The result was an interesting and carefully documented book, of which this excerpt is typical.

"In the four corners of the globe, who reads an American book, or goes to an American play, or looks at an American picture?"—Sidney Smith (1820)

LORD NORTHCLIFFE CALLED motion pictures "the fifth estate." It is a valuable phrase. The frequency with which we hear the cliché "press, radio, and movies" testifies to the recognition that Hollywood is one of the key symbol-centers of the world. The influence of Hollywood is immense and pervasive. It is an influence which transcends differences in language or custom, age or creed. It is an influence which ranges from slang and songs to

From *Hollywood: The Movie Colony—The Movie Makers* by Leo C. Rosten, copyright, 1941, by Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc.

the export of typewriters or the pattern of women's coiffures. It is an influence which, to repeat a Frenchman's comment, threatened a colonization of the world by the American culture whose films are its most potent and energetic carriers. It is an influence which springs from two sources: the movies and the movie stars.

The long arm of Hollywood reaches into every province of the manners and the mores of our time; it does not, except obliquely and occasionally, touch the ideologies of our day. The movie makers are beholden to a mass market; they are saddled with enormous costs; they know that ideas attract controversy; and they shape their stories into fables which testify to the proposition that maximum profits reward maximum innocuousness.

The extraordinary significance of the movies is illustrated by the fact that of all the contemporary arts—and businesses—it was the movies which were singled out for discussion in a special papal encyclical devoted to that purpose (Pius XI, July 2, 1936). And the potency of films, the threat to national policies or private interests which they can be assumed to represent, is demonstrated by the astonishing variety of protests which pour into Hollywood week after week. The expostulations against movies, from governments, foreign offices, business groups, religious orders, trade associations, fraternal societies, or professional bodies, are nothing short of cosmic in their range and in their substance.

The Japanese censors, for example, strongly objected to a Hollywood version of *Madame Butterfly* because Sylvia Sydney, in kissing Lieutenant Pinkerton (the scene was handled with pathetic caution), placed her arms around his neck in such a manner that her elbow was bared. This, apparently, was tantamount to nudity in Japan. A national billiard association voiced hot protest because pool rooms, in the movies, are shown as unkempt places where disreputable characters congregate. The late Polish Government barred *Show Boat* because the song, "Ol' Man River," was "proletarian propaganda" likely to incite the Polish masses to rebellion. The American Newspaper Guild objected to the prevalence of impolite, intoxicated, or unscrupulous reporters on the screen.

The British regularly censor those movie scenes in which animals so much as *appear* to be suffering, even though Hollywood's studios offer affidavits from humane societies proving that the effects were achieved quite without pain to our Darwinian cousins. The Glass Bottle Blowers Association complained that the movies were giving free advertising to canned beer, and a group in the canning industry insisted that the movies are spreading the gospel of bottled beverages. France (1939) compelled Hollywood to change the villain of *Beau Geste* from a Frenchman to a Russian.

An organization of silver fox breeders expressed their indignation because in one picture a Negress was seen wearing a silver fox. The Audubon Society voiced a complaint concerning a story which was being considered by a studio because the plot required that an eagle carry off a child. It is easy to extend this Domesday Book to chilling proportions, but let us end this array of hurt feelings by citing the letter which denounced a movie because it "maligned and burlesqued" the Master Plumbers of America, a group, it was insisted, "which has done more to protect the health and comfort of the American people than any other group or industry."[1]

No matter what the intentions of the movie makers may be, no matter how unconscious they may be of the effects of their product, no matter how reluctant Hollywood may be to manipulate the subtle and persuasive power at its disposal, the movies exert an influence which is vast and profound.[2]

In a world convulsed by catastrophe and change, Hollywood sells the oldest of allegories in its simplest and most consoling outlines. Boy Gets Girl. Those who berate the movies for their enslavement to Boy Meets Girl —Boy Loses Girl—Boy Gets Girl forget that this theme has been sovereign in the novel and the play for several thousand years, and in cultures ranging from the Greek to the Chinese. They forget that the unhappy ending was unpopular even in enlightened Athens. They forget that no less an authority than Aristotle declared that one of the primary functions of the artist is to serve his audience, that the only art of political importance is popular art: "the poet is guided in what he writes by the wishes of his audience."[3] They forget that T. S. Eliot, surely no apostle of the flesh-pots, observed that the movies have supplanted the stage in serving the public with melodrama and concluded that "melodrama is perennial and . . . the craving for it is perennial and must be satisfied."[4]

In the recondite naïveté of Hollywood's movies, life is a simple game between love and misunderstanding, between the pure in heart and the other kind. Optimism is basic, romance is of the essence, crises are rarely more than personal. In the movies, problems are solved by mere love, sheer

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[1] The cases are taken from an extensive analysis of the files and correspondence of the Production Code Administration. Copies of the letters or documents making each of the criticisms are in the possession of this writer.

[2] See *Motion Pictures and Youth,* a series of twelve studies made under the auspices of the Payne Fund, for which W. W. Charters was chairman. The studies were published in five volumes by Macmillan from 1933 to 1935. See also the penetrating criticism of the methods used, and conclusions drawn, in the above series, by Mortimer J. Adler in *Art and Jurisprudence* (Longmans, Green, 1937), pp. 231-457.

[3] Adler, *Art and Jurisprudence,* pp. 35-36.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 29.

will, or expiatory gestures; that is, by virtue, luck, or divine intercession. In the norms of the silver screen, virtue, luck, and divine intercession are incomparably more important than skill, intelligence, or reality. The Greek dramatists, it will be remembered, lowered an actor-Jove from the top of the stage so he could settle the destiny of the characters whenever the plot became too complicated for the author; Hollywood's *deus ex machina* is nowhere as crude: he resides in the very content of the movies, in the structure and values of the movies themselves.

In the movie story of mankind, the man who writes to Mother, steps aside for his friend, or places his sweetheart's happiness above his carnal desires is pretty sure to end as the ecstatic bridegroom, the president of the company, or the composer whose genius the audiences at Carnegie Hall acclaim by beating their palms into a pulp. The cad who kicks a dog, cheats at cards, betrays a friend, or attempts to seduce a maiden, is headed straight for the Big House, death, and eternal perdition beyond. To movie heroes, of course, death is no more than the passport to eternal joy, its occurrence usually being accompanied by a majestic chorus of unseen angels hurling triumphant hosannahs at the audience while the screen swarms with moving clouds. It is surely consoling to discover that in the special logic of the movies, self-sacrifice always ends in successful (if unplanned) self-aggrandizement; and that selfishness is utter folly, doomed to a terrible fate.

All this means that in the moral lexicon of Hollywood, honesty is always rewarded, evil is always punished, and crime—in an exquisite reflection of the pragmatic emphases of our world—does not *pay*. The Lord Chief Justice of Great Britain, Lord Hewart, dismissed the contention that the movies help to "make" criminals, in this happy line: "If virtue triumphed in actual life as regularly as on the films, this world might be an easier place both to police and to understand."[5]

Hollywood's racial typologies are forever dismaying. To the movie addict, Negroes are lazy, light-hearted mortals who tap dance on the slightest provocation and are prone to burst into spirituals during a thunderstorm. Italians seem to be a singularly specialized species, either childishly happy or dreadfully brutal; their talents, by some anthropological curse, are limited to restauranting or crime. Swedes, of course, are slow-witted behemoths dedicated to either the sea or the basement. In the realm of higher learning, teachers are depicted as frustrated, if female, or emasculated, if male. And the moviegoer knows that a happy woman is one who enters a room with her arms full of packages. An entire social philosophy is reduced to that one classic image.

[5] *London Times*, December 15, 1936.

It is fitting to ask how a generation which has been inoculated with the inclusive romanticism of the movies—a romanticism which encompasses everything from individual amour to social issues—will cope with an increasingly hard and unpretty reality. To those intoxicated by the champagne of the film, everyday life and love may represent the deflation of periodically inflated expectations. One may be excused for wondering what are the consequences to psychological security when clerks are encouraged to believe in high destiny, when buck-toothed ingenues dream of Errol Flynn. True, there were Fairy Princes and Princesses long before celluloid was invented; but were they ever so real, and did they actually talk and kiss and sing?

The emphasis of the films upon action, violence, and brash conduct necessarily involves a devaluation of the thoughtful and the contemplative. This can hardly avoid influencing the manners of a society already predisposed to the physical solution of disputes, the mentality of a society most of whose inhabitants are more respectful of Hugh Johnson than John Dewey.

This is not meant to imply that Hollywood creates its *own* values, or that Hollywood invents stereotypes with single-handed omnipotence, or that Hollywood *causes* the public acceptance of banal homilies. The movie makers are in many ways compelled to feed a popular diet to a public which is in firm possession of deplorable tastes—tastes derived from sources far older, deeper, and more potent than Hollywood. The very success of Hollywood lies in the skill with which it *reflects* the assumptions, the fallacies, and the aspirations of an entire culture. The movie producers, the movie directors, the movie writers, and the movie actors work with the stereotypes which are current in our society—for they, too, are children of that society; they, too, have inherited and absorbed the values of our world. But Hollywood, through the movies, *reinforces* our typologies on an enormous scale and with overpowering repetitiveness. Whether the movies imitate life or whether life imitates the movies is for others to decide; this writer believes that like missionaries on a desert island, they begin to convert each other. Some critics say that audiences complain about the movies because the movies do not reflect reality; it is this writer's suspicion that more people lament the fact that reality does not reflect the movies.

The long arm of Hollywood can be seen in any home or department store, or by glancing into the nearest mirror. Indirect lighting, modern furniture, and resplendent bathrooms, those landmarks of man's ascent from barbarism, owe much to the silver screen. The off-the-face hat, invented to keep shadows off the faces of movie Lorelei who are paid for their unshadowed features, swept the feminine world in the past decade and re-established a style which is two thousand years old. The movies helped to undermine the taboos which fought off a cosmeticized world. The short-vamp shoe, the

decline of the American custom of eating peas with a knife, elegant feminine underthings, the popularity of Scotch and soda, and smoking by adolescents and women—all may be traced in some measure to Hollywood's persuasive power.

The impact of Hollywood on speech, song, and gesture is even more obvious. In Bombay or Oslo or Hong Kong the boys who worship James Cagney, George Raft, or Edward G. Robinson incorporate machine-gun noises and impudent gestures into their play. (In 1939, five thousand police chiefs in the United States voted their annual award to Mr. Cagney as the person who had done most to discourage crime in our land.[6]) The song hits of Shanghai and Dayton are often the same, and Alice Faye or Dorothy Lamour probably introduced them. When Edmund Lowe and Victor McLaglen hurled "Sez you!" at each other as a deadly riposte at regular intervals in one of their film sagas, the phrase became a part of our language for years. The chief constable of Wallasey, a suburb of Liverpool, sadly remarked in one of his annual reports:

> I cannot refrain from commenting adversely on the pernicious and growing habit of . . . youths to use Americanisms, with nasal accompaniment, in order to appear, in their own vernacular, *tough guys*. On one of my officers going to search him, a young housebreaker told him to "*Lay off, cop.*" Oh-yeahs are frequent in answer to charges, and we are promised *shoots up in the burg* [*sic*] and threatened to be *bumped off*.[7]

Women have taken an increasingly important place in modern society; in no realm of endeavor has the stronger sex risen to the prominence it occupies in the movie colony and the film industry. No business can match Hollywood's female personnel for influence; there are, indeed, no counterparts to a Lombard, a Shearer, or a Colbert. In the index of fame and fortune, the illustrious names of the stage, opera, or letters must yield to the imperial queens of the screen. It should occasion no surprise to learn that when a questionnaire was submitted to girls in one section of New York, asking them what they wanted to be, two-thirds of the lasses replied—movie actress.[8]

The movie idols have usurped the role of Society in establishing styles. Today, Society's fashions are more imitative of Hollywood's than the other way around. Marlene Dietrich's affinity for slacks, for example, was a major factor in the rise of a new article of feminine disguise. The hat which Greta Garbo wore in *Susan Lennox* put thousands of milliners to work on a style which was hailed as revolutionary. Jean Harlow's platinum-dyed hair started a vogue which has not yet, unfortunately, abated. Norma Shearer's bob,

[6] *Hollywood Reporter*, July 19, 1939, p. 2.

[7] H. L. Mencken, *The American Language* (Knopf, 1938), p. 70.

[8] Caroline F. Ware, *Greenwich Village* (Houghton Mifflin, 1935), p. 350.

for *Romeo and Juliet*, altered women's hair-do for over a year and brought bitter conflict into a million boudoirs. In men's apparel, slack suits, polo shirts, Tyrolean hats, and roll-collar shirts are inescapable evidence of Hollywood's influence. It is a familiar but ever-impressive fact that when Clark Gable disrobed in *It Happened One Night* and was revealed to be *sans* undershirt, he sent the men's underwear business into a decline which, glassy-eyed manufacturers estimated, cut their business from forty to fifty percent within a year.

Hollywood has lured some of the finest designers and couturières in the world into its bailiwick. Movie previews are attended by style copyists who rush their drawings back to the East so that a Crawford gown, mass-produced and cheaply priced, can stream to the women of America with a minimum of delay. There are over fifteen "style-reporting" agencies in Los Angeles which act as style scouts for department stores all over the world; they send out weekly bulletins, sketches, samples, and tips on who is wearing what. Buyers are especially susceptible to Hollywood's styles: it is easier to sell a "number" which has been featured in a film seen by millions of consumers, and sales arguments are fortified by references to the fact that "Ginger Rogers wore this very dress in Palm Springs." Besides, department store buyers like to come to Hollywood: the weather, sports, and the carnival atmosphere make their stay pleasant; and the opportunity of seeing movie stars in the flesh, apart from being exciting in itself, enhances prestige at home to a staff in awe of those who saw the mighty in their habitat. Los Angeles is a booming fashion and clothes-manufacturing center; in sportswear, it has become almost unrivaled.

We have seen that over twenty years ago English, German, and French merchants began to complain to their governments about the influence of Hollywood's movies on their commerce. Audiences which see American typewriters, furniture, automobiles, radios, or clothing in the expertly photographed films of Hollywood show an understandable preference for American merchandise. Any visitor to Europe is impressed by the Americanization of clothes, homes, and habits.

The role of the movies in heightening the public's taste for the perquisites of wealth was even more striking. During the roaring Twenties, the American appetite for luxuries spread and deepened; the war years were over, the 1919 depression had been endured, and the glittering, if spurious, prosperity of a decade had begun. Money was god, money-making a cult, spending a glorious adventure. In cars and clothing, houses and services, the pleasure-bent pursued their desires. The interest in etiquette, beauty creams, and democratic snobbery, milestones on the road to Sophistication, was evidenced in the rush for books, magazines, and tutors in the esoteric arts of

decorum. Above all, a fast-living, high-riding middle class was possessed by curiosity to know how the rich and the sophisticated lived. The movies taught them. *Nouveaux riches* movie makers projected *nouveaux riches* values into the films. Hollywood presented the *nouveau riche* as a more understandable and sympathetic social type.

It was Cecil B. DeMille who sensed the public demand and, with his own special genius, turned the movies into a medium which satisfied the public's desire for knowledge about the mores of acquisition. DeMille gazed upon life and came to the conclusion that the brotherhood of man was primarily interested in only two things—money and sex. The DeMille boudoir epics blended money and sex with incomparable showmanship. The master brought celebrated designers, interior decorators, hairdressers, and brassière experts to Hollywood. He shattered the fashion monopoly of Paris by putting glorified fashion shows on the screen; he gave shop girls ringside seats at dress salons for the price of a movie ticket:

> DeMille showed them the object of their dreams in actual use. . . . He knew to a hair the value of over-emphasis and over-elaboration . . . his interiors, exaggerated as they often were, were nevertheless convincing; any one of them might have been in the home of a multi-millionaire, and many of them undoubtedly were after DeMille pointed the way. . . . He withdrew the curtains that had veiled the rich and the fashionable, and exhibited them in all the intimate and lavish details of their private lives.[9]

The DeMille influence has persisted in movies for the simple reason that the lavish is perennially attractive to the populace and perennially profitable to the film companies. Apparently the only rival to money and sex (in the movies) is action, and the content of Hollywood's movies may be encompassed by those three symbols.

Magazines in a dozen languages feed the fan world which is hungry for a glimpse within the wondrous halls of Hollywood. The Italian movie publication *Film*, after the boycott of American movies by Mussolini and the actual withdrawal of American movies from Italy, was loaded with photographs of Hollywood's godlings. In one issue, page one featured Merle Oberon, Louis Hayward, and Sally Eilers; on page four, there was Douglas Fairbanks, Jr.; part of page five displayed Ann Miller; page seven was occupied by a massive photograph of Fred MacMurray; page nine was graced by Lola Lane; and page twelve aimed at posterity with an action shot of Mickey Rooney. More than twice as much space was devoted to Hollywood's stars as to their Italian and European rivals.[10]

Even where there is revolt against Hollywood's dominion, the unconscious aping of Hollywood testifies to the enormity of its influence. *Filmindia*,

[9] Hampton, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
[10] *Film*, March 23, 1939.

Bombay's fat fan magazine, conducts a relentless crusade against Hollywood's "disgusting libel of the Indian people . . . disgraceful pictures . . . insidious anti-Indian propaganda. . . ." Only pictures of native stars fill its pages; nary a note or picture of a Hollywood luminary is allowed. And yet, in the same issue in which the quotation cited above occurs (March, 1939), there is a page of photographs in which Indian sirens in American dress cavort in a penthouse (!); one picture shows a lovely Hindu actress using a Flit gun; there is a full page of pictures of native Don Juans in polo shirts, sport jackets, bow ties, felt hats, and ascot scarves (and only one turban); and there is a closeup of a beauteous Hindu maiden with her hat pulled low over her eyes, aiming a gun at the camera in the approved Hollywood mode.

THEODORE MORRISON Dover Beach revisited

Told though it is in the form of a story, this interesting magazine article is in fact a shrewd commentary upon different kinds of literary criticism. Because it is at times less explicit than magazine articles usually are, the reader needs to note particularly its implications.

EARLY IN THE YEAR 1939 a certain Professor of Educational Psychology, occupying a well-paid chair at a large endowed university, conceived a plot. From his desk in the imposing Hall of the Social Sciences where the Research Institute in Education was housed he had long burned with resentment against teachers of literature, especially against English departments. It seemed to him that the professors of English stood square across the path of his major professional ambition. His great desire in life was to introduce into the study, the teaching, the critical evaluation of literature some of the systematic method, some of the "objective procedure" as he liked to call it, some of the certainty of result which he believed to be characteristic of the physical sciences. "You make such a fetish of science," a colleague once said to him, "why aren't you a chemist?"—a question that annoyed him deeply.

If such a poem as Milton's "Lycidas" has a value—and most English teachers, even to-day, would start with that as a cardinal fact—then that value must be measurable and expressible in terms that do not shift and change from moment to moment and person to person with every subjective whim. They would agree, these teachers of literature, these professors of

From *Harper's Magazine*, February 1940. Reprinted by permission of Theodore Morrison.

English, that the value of the poem is in some sense objective; they would never agree to undertake any objective procedure to determine what that value is. They would not clearly define what they meant by achievement in the study of literature, and they bridled and snorted when anyone else attempted to define it. He remembered what had happened when he had once been incautious enough to suggest to a professor of English in his own college that it might be possible to establish norms for the appreciation of Milton. The fellow had simply exploded into a peal of histrionic laughter and then had tried to wither him with an equally histrionic look of incredulity and disgust.

He would like to see what would happen if the teachers of English were forced or lured, by some scheme or other, into a public exposure of their position. It would put them in the light of intellectual charlatanism, nothing less . . . and suddenly Professor Chartly (for so he was nicknamed) began to see his way.

It was a simple plan that popped into his head, simple yet bold and practical. It was a challenge that could not be refused. A strategically placed friend in one of the large educational foundations could be counted on: there would be money for clerical expenses, for travel if need be. He took his pipe from his pocket, filled it, and began to puff exultantly. To-morrow he must broach the scheme to one or two colleagues; to-night, over cheese and beer, would not be too soon. He reached for the telephone.

The plan that he unfolded to his associates that evening aroused considerable skepticism at first, but gradually they succumbed to his enthusiasm. A number of well-known professors of literature at representative colleges up and down the land would be asked to write a critical evaluation of a poem prominent enough to form part of the standard reading in all large English courses. They would be asked to state the criteria on which they based their judgment. When all the answers had been received the whole dossier would be sent to a moderator, a trusted elder statesman of education, known everywhere for his dignity, liberality of intelligence, and long experience. He would be asked to make a preliminary examination of all the documents and to determine from the point of view of a teacher of literature whether they provided any basis for a common understanding. The moderator would then forward all the documents to Professor Chartly, who would make what in his own mind he was frank to call a more scientific analysis. Then the jaws of the trap would be ready to spring.

Once the conspirators had agreed on their plot their first difficulty came in the choice of a poem. Suffice it to say that someone eventually hit on Arnold's "Dover Beach," and the suggestion withstood all attack. "Dover Beach" was universally known, almost universally praised; it was remote enough so that contemporary jealousies and cults were not seriously in-

volved, yet near enough not to call for any special expertness, historical or linguistic, as a prerequisite for judgment; it was generally given credit for skill as a work of art, yet it contained also, in its author's own phrase, a "criticism of life."

Rapidly in the days following the first meeting the representative teachers were chosen and invited to participate in the plan. Professional courtesy seemed to require the inclusion of an Arnold expert. But the one selected excused himself from producing a value judgment of "Dover Beach" on the ground that he was busy investigating a fresh clue to the identity of "Marguerite." He had evidence that the woman in question, after the episode hinted at in the famous poems, had married her deceased sister's husband, thus perhaps affecting Arnold's views on a social question about which he had said a good deal in his prose writings. The expert pointed out that he had been given a half-year's leave of absence and a research grant to pursue the shadow of Marguerite through Europe, wherever it might lead him. If only war did not break out he hoped to complete this research and solve one of the vexing problems that had always confronted Arnold's biographers. His energies would be too much engaged in this special investigation to deal justly with the more general questions raised by Professor Chartly's invitation. But he asked to be kept informed, since the results of the experiment could not fail to be of interest to him.

After a few hitches and delays from other quarters, the scheme was ripe. The requests were mailed out, and the Professor of Educational Psychology sat back in grim confidence to await the outcome.

II

IT CHANCED that the first of the representative teachers who received and answered Professor Chartly's letter was thought of on his own campus as giving off a distinct though not unpleasant odor of the ivory tower. He would have resented the imputation himself. At forty-five Bradley Dewing was handsome in a somewhat speciously virile style, graying at the temples, but still well-knit and active. He prided himself on being able to beat most of his students at tennis; once a year he would play the third or fourth man on the varsity and go down to creditable defeat with some elegiac phrases on the ravages of time. He thought of himself as a man of the world; it was well for his contentment, which was seldom visibly ruffled, that he never heard the class mimic reproducing at a fraternity house or beer parlor his manner of saying: "After all, gentlemen, it is pure poetry that lasts. We must never forget the staying power of pure art." The class mimic never represents the whole of class opinion, but he can usually make everyone within earshot laugh.

Professor Dewing could remember clearly what his own teachers had said about "Dover Beach" in the days when he was a freshman in college himself, phrases rounded with distant professional unction: faith and doubt in the Victorian era; disturbing influence of Darwin on religious belief; Browning the optimist; Tennyson coming up with firm faith after a long struggle in the waters of doubt; Matthew Arnold, prophet of skepticism. How would "Dover Beach" stack up now as a poem? Pull Arnold down from the shelf and find out.

Ah, yes, how the familiar phrases came back. The sea is calm, the tide is full, the cliffs of England stand. . . . And then the lines he particularly liked:

> Come to the window, sweet is the night air!
> Only, from the long line of spray
> Where the ebb meets the moon-blanch'd sand,
> Listen! you hear the grating roar
> Of pebbles which the waves draw back, and fling,
> At their return, up the high strand,
> Begin, and cease, and then again begin,
> With tremulous cadence slow . . .

Good poetry, that! No one could mistake it. Onomatopoeia was a relatively cheap effect most of the time. Poe, for instance: "And the silken sad uncertain rustling of each purple curtain." Anyone could put a string of s's together and make them rustle. But these lines in "Dover Beach" were different. The onomatopoeia was involved in the whole scene, and it in turn involved the whole rhythmical movement of the verse, not the mere noise made by the consonants or vowels as such. The pauses—only, listen, draw back, fling, begin, cease—how they infused a subdued melancholy into the moonlit panorama at the same time that they gave it the utmost physical reality by suggesting the endless iteration of the waves! And then the phrase "With tremulous cadence slow" coming as yet one more touch, one "fine excess," when it seemed that every phrase and pause the scene could bear had already been lavished on it: that was Miltonic, Virgilian.

But the rest of the poem?

> The sea of Faith
> Was once, too, at the full, and round earth's shore
> Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furl'd . . .

Of course Arnold had evoked the whole scene only to bring before us this metaphor of faith in its ebb-tide. But that did not save the figure from triteness and from an even more fatal vagueness. Everything in second-rate poetry is compared to the sea: love is as deep, grief as salty, passion as turbulent. The sea may look like a bright girdle sometimes, though Profes-

sor Dewing did not think it particularly impressive to say so. And in what sense is *faith* a bright girdle? Is it the function of faith to embrace, to bind, to hold up a petticoat, or what? And what is the faith that Arnold has in mind? The poet evokes no precise concept of it. He throws us the simple undifferentiated word, unites its loose emotional connotations with those of the sea, and leaves the whole matter there. And the concluding figure of "Dover Beach":

> . . . we are here as on a darkling plain
> Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
> Where ignorant armies clash by night.

Splendid in itself, this memorable image. But the sea had been forgotten now; the darkling plain had displaced the figure from which the whole poem tacitly promised to evolve. It would not have been so if John Donne had been the craftsman. A single bold yet accurate analogy, with constantly developing implications, would have served him for the whole poem.

Thus mused Professor Dewing, the lines of his verdict taking shape in his head. A critic of poetry of course was not at liberty to pass judgment on a poet's thought; he could only judge whether in treating of the thought or sensibility he had received from his age, the poet had produced a satisfactory work of art. Arnold, Professor Dewing felt, had not been able to escape from the didactic tone or from a certain commonness and vagueness of expression. With deep personal misgivings about his position in a world both socially and spiritually barbarous, he had sought an image for his emotion, and had found it in the sea—a natural phenomenon still obscured by the drapings of conventional beauty and used by all manner of poets to express all manner of feelings. "Dover Beach" would always remain notable, Professor Dewing decided, as an expression of Victorian sensibility. It contained lines of every memorable poetic skill. But it could not, he felt, be accepted as a uniformly satisfactory example of poetic art.

III

It was occasionally a source of wonder to those about him just why Professor Oliver Twitchell spent so much time and eloquence urging that man's lower nature must be repressed, his animal instincts kept in bounds by the exertion of the higher will. To the casual observer, Professor Twitchell himself did not seem to possess much animal nature. It seemed incredible that a desperate struggle with powerful bestial passions might be going on at any moment within his own slight frame, behind his delicate white face in which the most prominent feature was the octagonal glasses that focused his eyes on the outside world. Professor Twitchell was a good deal given to discipleship but not much to friendship. He had himself been

a disciple of the great Irving Babbitt, and he attracted a small number of disciples among his own more earnest students. But no one knew him well. Only one of his colleagues, who took a somewhat sardonic interest in the mysteries of human nature, possessed a possible clue to the origin of his efforts to repress man's lower nature and vindicate his higher. This colleague had wormed his way sufficiently into Oliver Twitchell's confidence to learn about his family, which he did not often mention. Professor Twitchell, it turned out, had come of decidedly unacademic stock. One of his brothers was the chief salesman for a company that made domestic fire-alarm appliances. At a moment's notice he would whip out a sample from his bag or pocket, plug it into the nearest electric outlet, and while the bystanders waited in terrified suspense, would explain that in the dead of night, if the house caught fire, the thing would go off with a whoop loud enough to warn the soundest sleeper. Lined up with his whole string of brothers and sisters, all older than he, all abounding in spirits, Professor Twitchell looked like the runt of the litter. His colleague decided that he must have had a very hard childhood, and that it was not his own animal nature that he needed so constantly to repress, but his family's.

Whatever the reasons, Professor Twitchell felt no reality in the teaching of literature except as he could extract from it definitions and illustrations of man's moral struggle in the world. For him recent history had been a history of intellectual confusion and degradation, and hence of social confusion and degradation. Western thought had fallen into a heresy. It had failed to maintain the fundamental grounds of a true humanism. It had blurred the distinction between man, God, and nature. Under the influence of the sciences, it had set up a monism in which the moral as well as physical constitution of man was included within nature and the laws of nature. It had, therefore, exalted man as naturally good, and exalted the free expression of all his impulses. What were the results of this heresy? An age, complained Professor Twitchell bitterly, in which young women talked about sexual perversions at the dinner table; an age in which everyone agreed that society was in dissolution and insisted on the privilege of being dissolute; an age without any common standards of value in morals or art; an age, in short, without discipline, without self-restraint in private life or public.

Oliver Twitchell when he received Professor Chartly's envelope sat down with a strong favorable predisposition toward his task. He accepted wholeheartedly Arnold's attitude toward literature: the demand that poetry should be serious, that it should present us with a criticism of life, that it should be measured by standards not merely personal, but in some sense *real.*

"Dover Beach" had become Arnold's best-known poem, admired as his masterpiece. It would surely contain, therefore, a distillation of his attitude.

Professor Twitchell pulled down his copy of Arnold and began to read; and as he read he felt himself overtaken by surprised misgiving The poem began well enough. The allusion to Sophocles, who had heard the sound of the retreating tide by the Aegean centuries ago, admirably prepared the groundwork of high seriousness for a poem which would culminate in a real criticism of human experience. But did the poem so culminate? It was true that the world

> Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
> Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain

if one meant the world as the worldling knows it, the man who conducts his life by unreflective natural impulse. Such a man will soon enough encounter the disappointments of ambition, the instability of all bonds and ties founded on nothing firmer than passion or self-interest. But this incertitude of the world, to a true disciple of culture, should become a means of self-discipline. It should lead him to ask how life may be purified and ennobled, how we may by wisdom and self-restraint oppose to the accidents of the world a true human culture based on the exertion of a higher will. No call to such a positive moral will, Professor Twitchell reluctantly discovered, can be heard in "Dover Beach." Man is an ignorant soldier struggling confusedly in a blind battle. Was this the culminating truth that Arnold the poet had given men in his masterpiece? Professor Twitchell sadly revised his value-judgment of the poem. He could not feel that in his most widely admired performance Arnold had seen life steadily or seen it whole; rather he had seen it only on its worldly side, and seen it under an aspect of terror. "Dover Beach" would always be justly respected for its poetic art, but the famous lines on Sophocles better exemplified the poet as a critic of life.

IV

AS A NOVELIST still referred to in his late thirties as "young" and "promising," Rudolph Mole found himself in a curious relation toward his academic colleagues. He wrote for the public, not for the learned journals; hence he was spared the necessity of becoming a pedant. At the same time the more lucrative fruits of pedantry were denied to him by his quiet exclusion from the guild. Younger men sweating for promotion, living in shabby genteel poverty on yearly appointments, their childless wives mimicking their academic shop-talk in bluestocking phrases, would look up from the stacks of five-by-three cards on which they were constantly accumulating notes and references, and would say to him, "You don't realize how lucky you are, teaching composition. You aren't expected to know anything." Sometimes an older colleague, who had passed through several stages of the mysteries of preferment, would belittle professional scholarship to him with

an elaborate show of graciousness and envy. "We are all just pedants," he would say. "You teach the students what they really want and need." Rudolph noticed that the self-confessed pedant went busily on publishing monographs and being promoted, while he himself remained, year by year, the English Department's most eminent poor relation.

He was not embittered. His dealings with students were pleasant and interesting. There was a sense of reality and purpose in trying to elicit from them a better expression of their thoughts, trying to increase their understanding of the literary crafts. He could attack their minds on any front he chose, and he could follow his intellectual hobbies as freely as he liked, without being confined to the artificial boundaries of a professional field of learning.

Freud, for example. When Professor Chartly and his accomplices decided that a teacher of creative writing should be included in their scheme and chose Rudolph Mole for the post, they happened to catch him at the height of his enthusiasm for Freud. Not that he expected to psychoanalyze authors through their works; that, he avowed, was not his purpose. You can't deduce the specific secrets of a man's life, he would cheerfully admit, by trying to fit his works into the text-book patterns of complexes and psychoses. The critic, in any case, is interested only in the man to the extent that he is involved in his work. But everyone agrees, Rudolph maintained, that the man is involved in his work. Some part of the psychic constitution of the author finds expression in every line that he writes. We can't understand the work unless we can understand the psychic traits that have gained expression in it. We may never be able to trace back these traits to their ultimate sources and causes, probably buried deep in the author's childhood. But we need to gain as much light on them as we can, since they appear in the work we are trying to apprehend, and determine its character. This is what criticism has always sought to do. Freud simply brings new light to the old task.

Rudolph was fortunate enough at the outset to pick up at the college bookstore a copy of Mr. Lionel Trilling's recent study of Matthew Arnold. In this volume he found much of his work already done for him. A footnote to Mr. Trilling's text, citing evidence from Professors Tinker and Lowry, made it clear that "Dover Beach" may well have been written in 1850, some seventeen years before it was first published. This, for Rudolph's purposes, was a priceless discovery. It meant that all the traditional talk about the poem was largely null and void. The poem was not a repercussion of the bombshell that Darwin dropped on the religious sensibilities of the Victorians. It was far more deeply personal and individual than that. Perhaps

when Arnold published it his own sense of what it expressed or how it would be understood had changed. But clearly the poem came into being as an expression of what Arnold felt to be the particular kind of affection and passion he needed from a woman. It was a love poem, and took its place with utmost naturalness, once the clue had been given, in the group of similar and related poems addressed to "Marguerite." Mr. Trilling summed up in a fine sentence one strain in these poems, and the principal strain in "Dover Beach," when he wrote that for Arnold "fidelity is a word relevant only to those lovers who see the world as a place of sorrow and in their common suffering require the comfort of constancy."

> Ah, love, let us be true
> To one another! for the world . . .
> Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light . . .

The point was unmistakable. And from the whole group of poems to which "Dover Beach" belonged, a sketch of Arnold as an erotic personality could be derived. The question whether a "real Marguerite" existed was an idle one, for the traits that found expression in the poems were at least "real" enough to produce the poems and to determine their character.

And what an odd spectacle it made, the self-expressed character of Arnold as a lover! The ordinary degree of aggressiveness, the normal joy of conquest and possession, seemed to be wholly absent from him. The love he asked for was essentially a protective love, sisterly or motherly; in its unavoidable ingredient of passion he felt a constant danger, which repelled and unsettled him. He addressed Marguerite as "My sister!" He avowed and deplored his own womanish fits of instability:

> I too have wish'd, no woman more,
> This starting, feverish heart, away.

He emphasized his nervous anguish and contrary impulses. He was a "teas'd o'erlabour'd heart," "an aimless unallay'd Desire." He could not break through his fundamental isolation and submerge himself in another human soul, and he believed that all men shared this plight:

> Yes: in the sea of life enisl'd,
> With echoing straits between us thrown,
> Dotting the shoreless watery wild,
> We mortal millions live *alone*.

He never "without remorse" allowed himself "To haunt the place where passions reign," yet it was clear that whether he had ever succeeded in giving himself up wholeheartedly to a passion, he had wanted to. There could hardly be a more telltale phrase than "Once-long'd-for storms of love."

In short much more illumination fell on "Dover Beach" from certain other verses of Arnold's than from Darwin and all his commentators:

> Truth—what is truth? Two bleeding hearts
> Wounded by men, by Fortune tried,
> Outwearied with their lonely parts,
> Vow to beat henceforth side by side.
> The world to them was stern and drear;
> Their lot was but to weep and moan.
> Ah, let them keep their faith sincere,
> For neither could subsist alone!

Here was the nub. "Dover Beach" grew directly from and repeated the same emotion, but no doubt generalized and enlarged this emotion, sweeping into one intense and far-reaching conviction of insecurity not only Arnold's personal fortunes in love, but the social and religious faith of the world he lived in. That much could be said for the traditional interpretation.

Of course, as Mr. Trilling did not fail to mention, anguished love affairs, harassed by mysterious inner incompatibilities, formed a well-established literary convention. But the fundamental sense of insecurity in "Dover Beach" was too genuine, too often repeated in other works, to be written off altogether to that account. The same sense of insecurity, the same need for some rock of protection, cried out again and again, not merely in Arnold's love poems but in his elegies, reflective pieces, and fragments of epic as well. Whenever Arnold produced a genuine and striking burst of poetry, with the stamp of true self-expression on it, he seemed always to be in the dumps. Everywhere dejection, confusion, weakness, contention of soul. No adequate cause could be found in the events of Arnold's life for such an acute sense of incertitude; it must have been of psychic origin. Only in one line of effort this fundamental insecurity did not hamper, sadden, or depress him, and that was in the free play of his intelligence as a critic of letters and society. Even there, if it did not hamper his efforts, it directed them. Arnold valiantly tried to erect a barrier of culture against the chaos and squalor of society, against the contentiousness of men. What was this barrier but an elaborate protective device?

The origin of the psychic pattern that expressed itself in Arnold's poems could probably never be discovered. No doubt the influence that Arnold's father exercised over his emotions and his thinking, even though Arnold rebelled to the extent at least of casting off his father's religious beliefs, was of great importance. But much more would have to be known to give a definite clue—more than ever could be known. Arnold was secure from any attempt to spy out the heart of his mystery. But if criticism could not discover the cause, it could assess the result, and could do so (thought Rudolph Mole) with greater understanding by an attempt, with up-to-date psycho-

logical aid, to delve a little deeper into the essential traits that manifested themselves in that result.

V

In 1917 Reuben Hale, a young instructor in a Western college, had lost his job and done time in the penitentiary for speaking against conscription and for organizing pacifist demonstrations. In the twenties he had lost two more academic posts for his sympathies with Soviet Russia and his inability to forget his Marxist principles while teaching literature. His contentious, eager, lovable, exasperating temperament tried the patience of one college administration after another. As he advanced into middle age, and his growing family suffered repeated upheavals, his friends began to fear that his robust quarrels with established order would leave him a penniless outcast at fifty. Then he was invited to take a flattering post at a girls' college known for its liberality of views. The connection proved surprisingly durable; in fact it became Professor Hale's turn to be apprehensive. He began to be morally alarmed at his own security, to fear that the bourgeois system which he had attacked so valiantly had somehow outwitted him and betrayed him into allegiance. When the C.I.O. made its initial drive and seemed to be carrying everything before it, he did his best to unseat himself again by rushing joyfully to the nearest picket lines and getting himself photographed by an alert press. Even this expedient failed, and he reconciled himself, not without wonder, to apparent academic permanence.

On winter afternoons his voice could be heard booming out through the closed door of his study to girls who came to consult him on all manner of subjects, from the merits of Plekhanov as a Marxist critic to their own most personal dilemmas. They called him Ben; he called them Smith, Jones, and Robinson. He never relaxed his cheerful bombardment of the milieu into which they were born, and of the larger social structure which made bourgeois wealth, bourgeois art, morals, and religion possible. But when a sophomore found herself pregnant it was to Professor Hale that she came for advice. Should she have an abortion or go through with it and heroically bear the social stigma? And it was Professor Hale who kept the affair from the Dean's office and the newspapers, sought out the boy, persuaded the young couple that they were desperately in love with each other, and that pending the revolution a respectable marriage would be the most prudent course, not to say the happiest.

James Joyce remarks of one of his characters that she dealt with moral problems as a cleaver deals with meat. Professor Hale's critical methods were comparably simple and direct. Literature, like the other arts, is in form and substance a product of society, and reflects the structure of society. The structure of society is a class structure: it is conditioned by the mode of production of goods, and by the legal conventions of ownership and con-

trol by which the ruling class keeps itself in power and endows itself with the necessary freedom to exploit men and materials for profit. A healthy literature, in a society so constituted, can exist only if writers perceive the essential economic problem and ally themselves firmly with the working class.

Anyone could see the trouble with Arnold. His intelligence revealed to him the chaos that disrupted the society about him; the selfishness and brutality of the ruling class; the ugliness of the world which the industrial revolution had created, and which imperialism and "liberalism" were extending. Arnold was at his best in his critical satire of this world and of the ignorance of those who governed it. But his intelligence far outran his will, and his defect of will finally blinded his intelligence. He was too much a child of his class to disown it and fight his way to a workable remedy for social injustice. He caught a true vision of himself and of his times as standing between "two worlds, one dead, one powerless to be born." But he had not courage or stomach enough to lend his own powers to the birth struggle. Had he thrown in his sympathies unreservedly with the working class, and labored for the inescapable revolution, "Dover Beach" would not have ended in pessimism and confusion. It would have ended in a cheerful, strenuous, and hopeful call to action. But Arnold could not divorce himself from the world of polite letters, of education, of culture, into which he had been born. He did his best to purify them, to make them into an instrument for the reform of society. But instinctively he knew that "culture" as he understood the term was not a social force in the world around him. Instinctively he knew that what he loved was doomed to defeat. And so "Dover Beach" ended in a futile plea for protection against the hideousness of the darkling plain and the confused alarms of struggle and flight.

Professor Chartly's envelope brought Reuben Hale his best opportunity since the first C.I.O. picket lines to vindicate his critical and social principles. He plunged into his answer with complete zest.

VI

WHEN PETER LEE PRAMPTON agreed to act as moderator in Professor Chartly's experiment he congratulated himself that this would be his last great academic chore. He had enjoyed his career of scholarship and teaching, no man ever more keenly. But now it was drawing to an end. He was loaded with honors from two continents. The universities of Germany, France, and Britain had first laid their formative hands on his learning and cultivation, then given their most coveted recognition to its fruits. But the honor and the glory seemed a little vague on the June morning when the expressman brought into his library the sizable package of papers which Professor Chartly had boxed and shipped to him. He had kept all his life a

certain simplicity of heart. At seventy-four he could still tote a pack with an easy endurance that humiliated men of forty. Now he found himself giving in more and more completely to a lust for trout. Half a century of hastily snatched vacations in Cape Breton or the Scottish Highlands had never allowed him really to fill up that hollow craving to find a wild stream and fish it which would sometimes rise in his throat even in the midst of a lecture.

Well, there would be time left before he died. And meanwhile here was this business of "Dover Beach." Matthew Arnold during one of his American lecture tours had been entertained by neighbors of the Pramptons. Peter Lee Prampton's father had dined with the great man, and had repeated his conversation and imitated his accent at the family table. Peter himself, as a boy of nineteen or so, had gone to hear Arnold lecture. That, he thought with a smile, was probably a good deal more than could be said for any of these poor hacks who had taken Professor Chartly's bait.

At the thought of Arnold he could still hear the carriage wheels grate on the pebbly road as he had driven, fifty odd years ago, to the lecture in town, the prospective Mrs. Prampton beside him. His fishing rod lay under the seat. He chuckled out loud as he remembered how a pound-and-a-half trout had jumped in the pool under the clattering planks of a bridge, and how he had pulled up the horse, jumped out, and tried to cast while Miss Osgood sat scolding in the carriage and shivering in the autumn air. They had been just a little late reaching the lecture, but the trout, wrapped in damp leaves, lay safely beside the rod.

It was queer that "Dover Beach" had not come more recently into his mind. Now that he turned his thoughts in that direction the poem was there in its entirety, waiting to be put on again like a coat that one has worn many times with pleasure and accidentally neglected for a while.

> The sea of faith was once, too, at the full.

How those old Victorian battles had raged about the Prampton table when he was a boy! How the names of Arnold, Huxley, Darwin, Carlyle, Morris, Ruskin had been pelted back and forth by the excited disputants! *Literature and Dogma, God and the Bible, Culture and Anarchy.* The familiar titles brought an odd image into his mind: the tall figure of his father stretching up to turn on the gas lamps in the evening as the family sat down to dinner; the terrific pop of the pilot light as it exploded into a net of white flame, shaped like a little beehive; the buzz and whine of a jet turned up too high.

> Ah, love, let us be true
> To one another! for the world, which seems
> To lie before us like a land of dreams,
> So various, so beautiful, so new,

Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain . . .

Peter Lee Prampton shivered in the warmth of his sunny library, shivered with that flash of perception into the past which sometimes enables a man to see how all that has happened in his life, for good or ill, turned on the narrowest edge of chance. He lived again in the world of dreams that his own youth had spread before him, a world truly various, beautiful, and new; full of promise, adventure, and liberty of choice, based on the opportunities which his father's wealth provided, and holding out the prospect of a smooth advance into a distinguished career. Then, within six months, a lavish demonstration that the world has neither certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain: his mother's death by cancer, his father's financial overthrow and suicide, the ruin of his own smooth hopes and the prospect instead of a long, hampered, and obscure fight toward his perhaps impossible ambition. He lived again through the night hours when he had tramped out with himself the youthful question whether he could hold Miss Osgood to her promise in the face of such reversals. And he did not forget how she took his long-sleepless face between her hands, kissed him, and smiled away his anxiety with unsteady lips. Surely everyone discovers at some time or another that the world is not a place of certitude; surely everyone cries out to some other human being for the fidelity which alone can make it so. What more could be asked of a poet than to take so profound and universal an experience and turn it into lines that could still speak long after he and his age were dead?

The best of it was that no one could miss the human feeling, the cry from the heart, in "Dover Beach"; it spoke so clearly and eloquently, in a language everyone could understand, in a form classically pure and simple. Or did it? Who could tell what any job-lot of academicians might be trusted to see or fail to see? And this assortment in Chartly's package might be a queer kettle of fish! Peter Lee Prampton had lived through the *Yellow Book* days of Art for Art's sake; he had read the muckrakers, and watched the rise of the Marxists and the Freudians. Could "Dover Beach" be condemned as unsympathetic with labor? Could a neurosis or a complex be discovered in it? His heart sank at the sharp sudden conviction that indeed these and worse discoveries about the poem might be seriously advanced. Well, he had always tried to go on the principle that every school of criticism should be free to exercise any sincere claim on men's interest and attention which it could win for itself. When he actually applied himself to the contents of Professor Chartly's bale he would be as charitable as he could, as receptive to light from any quarter as he could bring himself to be.

But the task could wait. He felt the need of a period of adjustment before he could approach it with reasonable equanimity. And in the meanwhile he could indulge himself in some long-needed editorial work on his dry-fly book.

Religion and ethics

FROM time immemorial, one of the unceasing quests of man has been for a satisfactory religion, a satisfactory pathway to virtue. The autobiographical passage by the essayist Agnes Repplier which opens this section tells a touching story of a little girl's first serious encounter with ethical problems. The four selections which follow offer a series of contrasting answers, given by men with different attitudes, to the questions, "What should a man believe?" and "How is a man to live?" They are arranged chronologically. The first sets forth the doctrines of the founder of the Christian religion. The second states the beliefs of an American mystic, Henry David Thoreau, who wrote a literary and philosophical masterpiece, the book *Walden*, in the middle of the nineteenth century. The third and fourth give two twentieth-century viewpoints, one by an English essayist and critic, G. K. Chesterton, and the other by a scientist of world-wide fame, Albert Einstein.

AGNES REPPLIER Sin

A personal discovery

I WAS TWELVE YEARS OLD, and very happy in my convent school. I did not particularly mind studying my lessons, and I sometimes persuaded the less experienced nuns to accept a retentive memory as a substitute for intelligent understanding, with which it has nothing to do. I "got along" with other children, and I enjoyed my friends; and of such simple things is the life of a child composed.

Then came a disturbing letter from my mother, a letter which threatened the heart of my content. It was sensible and reasonable, and it said very plainly and very kindly that I had better not make an especial friend of Lilly Milton; "not an exclusive friend," wrote my mother, "not one whom you would expect to see intimately after you leave school."

I knew what all that meant. I was as innocent as a kitten; but divorces were not common in those conservative years, and Mrs. Milton had as many to her credit as if she were living—a highly esteemed and popular lady—to-day. I regretted my mother's tendency to confuse issues with unimpor-

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tant details (a mistake which grown-up people often made), and I felt sure that if she knew Lilly—who was also as innocent as a kitten, and was blessed with the sweetest temper that God ever gave a little girl—she would be delighted that I had such an excellent friend. So I went on happily enough until ten days later, when Madame Rayburn, a nun for whom I cherished a very warm affection, was talking to me upon a familiar theme—the diverse ways in which I might improve my classwork and my general behavior. The subject did not interest me deeply,—repetition had staled its vivacity,—until my companion said the one thing that had plainly been uppermost in her mind: "And Agnes, how did you come to tell Lilly Milton that your mother did not want you to go with her? I never thought you could have been so deliberately unkind."

This brought me to my feet with a bound. "Tell Lilly!" I cried. "You could not have believed such a thing. It was Madame Bouron who told her."

A silence followed this revelation. The convent discipline was as strict for the nuns as for the pupils, and it was not their custom to criticize their superiors. Madame Bouron was mistress general, ranking next to the august head, and of infinitely more importance to us. She was a cold, severe, sardonic woman, and the general dislike felt for her had shaped itself into a cult. I had accepted this cult in simple good faith, having no personal grudge until she did this dreadful thing; and I may add that it was the eminently unwise custom of reading all the letters written to or by the pupils which stood responsible for the trouble. The order of nuns was a French one, and the habit of surveillance, which did not seem amiss in France, was ill-adapted to America. I had never before wasted a thought upon it. My weekly home letter and the less frequent but more communicative epistles from my mother might have been read in the market place for all I cared, until this miserable episode proved that a bad usage may be trusted to produce, sooner or later, bad results.

It was with visible reluctance that Madame Rayburn said after a long pause: "That alters the case. If Madame Bouron told Lilly, she must have had some good reason for doing so."

"There was no good reason," I protested. "There couldn't have been. But it doesn't matter. I told Lilly it wasn't so, and she believed me."

Madame Rayburn stared at me aghast. "You told Lilly it was not so?" she repeated.

I nodded. "I could not find out for two days what was the matter," I explained; "but I got it out of her at last, and I told her that my mother had never written a line to me about her. And she believed me."

"But my dear child," said the nun, "you have told a very grievous lie.

What is more, you have borne false witness against your neighbor. When you said to Lilly that your mother had not written that letter, you made her believe that Madame Bouron had lied to her."

"She didn't mind believing that," I observed cheerfully, "and there was nothing else that I could say to make her feel all right."

"But a lie is a lie," protested the nun. "You will have to tell Lilly the truth."

I said nothing, but my silence was not the silence of acquiescence. Madame Rayburn must have recognized this fact, for she took another line of attack. When she spoke next, it was in a low voice and very earnestly. "Listen to me," she said. "Friday is the first of May. You are going to confession on Thursday. You will tell Father O'Harra the whole story just as you have told it to me, and whatever he bids you do, you must do it. Remember that if you go to confession and do not tell this you will commit the very great sin of sacrilege; and if you do not obey your confessor you will commit the sin of open disobedience to the Church."

I was more than a little frightened. It seemed to me that for the first time in my life I was confronted by grown-up iniquities to which I had been a stranger. The thought sobered me for two days. On the third I went to confession, and when I had finished with my customary offenses—which, as they seldom varied, were probably as familiar to the priest as they were to me—I told my serious tale. The silence with which it was received bore witness to its seriousness. No question was asked me; I had been too explicit to render questions needful. But after two minutes (which seemed like two hours) of thinking my confessor said: "A lie is a lie. It must be retracted. To-morrow you will do one of two things. You will tell your friend the truth, or you will tell Madame Bouron the whole story just as you told it to me. Do you understand?"

"Yes," I said in a faint little voice, no louder than a sigh.

"And you will do as I bid you?"

"Yes," I breathed again.

"Then I will give you absolution, and you may go to Communion. But remember, no later than to-morrow. Believe me, it will get no easier by delay."

Of that I felt tolerably sure, and it was with the courage of desperation that I knocked the next morning at the door of Madame Bouron's office. She gave me a glance of wonderment (I had never before paid her a voluntary call), and without pause or preamble I told my tale, told it with such bald uncompromising verity that it sounded worse than ever. She listened at first in amazement, then in anger. "So Lilly thinks I lied to her," she said at last.

"Yes," I answered.

"And suppose I send for her now and undeceive her."

"You can't do that," I said. "I should tell her again my mother did not write the letter, and she would believe me."

"If you told another such lie, you would be sent from the school."

"If I were sent home, Lilly would believe me. She would believe me all the more."

The anger died out of Madame Bouron's eyes, and a look of bewilderment came into them. I am disposed to think that despite her wide experience as nun and teacher, she had never before encountered an *idée fixe*, and found out that the pyramids are flexible compared to it. "You know," she said uncertainly, "that sooner or later you will have to do as your mother desires."

I made no answer. The "sooner or later" did not interest me at all. I was living now.

There was another long pause. When Madame Bouron spoke again it was in a grave and low voice. "I wish I had said nothing about your mother's letter," she said. "I thought I could settle matters quickly that way, but I was mistaken, and I must take the consequences of my error. You may go now. I will not speak to Lilly, or to anyone else about this affair."

I did not go. I sat stunned, and asking myself if she knew all that her silence would imply. Children seldom give adults much credit for intelligence. "But," I began feebly—

"But me no buts," she interrupted, rising to her feet. "I know what you are going to say; but I have not been the head of a school for years without bearing more than one injustice."

Now when I heard these words sadly spoken something broke up inside of me. It did not break gently, like the dissolving of a cloud; it broke like the bursting of a dam. Sobs shook my lean little body as though they would have torn it apart. Tears blinded me. With difficulty I gasped out three words. "You are good," I said.

Madame Bouron propelled me gently to the door, which I could not see because of my tears. "I wish I could say as much for you," she answered, "but I cannot. You have been very bad. You have been false to your mother, to whom you owe respect and obedience; you have been false to me; and you have been false to God. But you have been true to your friend."

She put me out of the door, and I stood in the corridor facing the clock. I was still shaken by sobs, but my heart was light as a bird. And, believe it or not, the supreme reason for my happiness was—not that my difficulties were over, though I was glad of that; and not that Lilly was safe from hurt, though I was glad of that; but that Madame Bouron, whom I had thought bad, had proved herself to be, according to the standards of childhood, as good as gold. My joy was like the joy of the blessed saints in Paradise.

The Sermon on the Mount

AND SEEING THE MULTITUDES, he went up into a mountain: and when he was set, his disciples came unto him. And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying: Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.

Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.

Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

Rejoice and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.

Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled. Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven. For I say unto you, That except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.

Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment. But I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in

danger of hell fire. Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.

Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery. But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.

And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell. And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.

It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement, but I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery.

Again, ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths, but I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne; nor by the earth; for it his his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the publicans so?

Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.

Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them: otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven. Therefore when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have the glory of men. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward.

But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth that thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret himself shall reward thee openly.

And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly. But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye therefore like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him.

After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.

For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you. But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.

Moreover when ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward. But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face; that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly.

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal. But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also. The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!

No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love

the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon. Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?

Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they? Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature?

And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: And yet I say unto you, That even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.

Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which today is, and tomorrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?

Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed?

For after all these things do the Gentiles seek. For your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.

But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.

Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again. And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.

Ask and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone? Or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?

Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.

Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat, because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.

Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock. And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock.

And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand. And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it.

And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine. For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU

Higher laws

As I came home through the woods with my string of fish, trailing my pole, it being now quite dark, I caught a glimpse of a woodchuck stealing across my path, and felt a strange thrill of savage delight, and was strongly tempted to seize and devour him raw; not that I was hungry then, except for that wildness which he represented. Once or twice, however, while I lived at the pond, I found myself ranging the woods, like a half-

starved hound, with a strange abandonment, seeking some kind of venison which I might devour, and no morsel could have been too savage for me. The wildest scenes had become unaccountably familiar. I found in myself, and still find, an instinct toward a higher, or, as it is named, spiritual life, as do most men, and another toward a primitive, rank and savage one, and I reverence them both. I love the wild not less than the good. The wildness and adventure that are in fishing still recommended it to me. I like sometimes to take rank hold on life and spend my day more as the animals do. Perhaps I have owed to this employment and to hunting, when quite young, my closest acquaintance with Nature. They early introduce us to and detain us in scenery with which otherwise, at that age, we should have little acquaintance. Fishermen, hunters, woodchoppers, and others, spending their lives in the fields and woods, in a peculiar sense a part of Nature themselves, are often in a more favorable mood for observing her, in the intervals of their pursuits, than philosophers or poets even, who approach her with expectation. She is not afraid to exhibit herself to them. The traveller on the prairie is naturally a hunter, on the head waters of the Missouri and Columbia a trapper, and at the Falls of St. Mary a fisherman. He who is only a traveller learns things at second-hand and by the halves, and is poor authority. We are most interested when science reports what those men already know practically or instinctively, for that alone is a true *humanity*, or account of human experience.

They mistake who assert that the Yankee has few amusements, because he has not so many public holidays, and men and boys do not play so many games as they do in England, for here the more primitive but solitary amusements of hunting, fishing, and the like have not yet given place to the former. Almost every New England boy among my contemporaries shouldered a fowling-piece between the ages of ten and fourteen; and his hunting and fishing grounds were not limited, like the preserves of an English nobleman, but were more boundless even than those of a savage. No wonder, then, that he did not oftener stay to play on the common. But already a change is taking place, owing, not to an increased humanity, but to an increased scarcity of game, for perhaps the hunter is the greatest friend of the animals hunted, not excepting the Humane Society.

Moreover, when at the pond, I wished sometimes to add fish to my fare for variety. I have actually fished from the same kind of necessity that the first fishers did. Whatever humanity I might conjure up against it was all factitious, and concerned my philosophy more than my feelings. I speak of fishing only now, for I had long felt differently about fowling, and sold my gun before I went to the woods. Not that I am less humane than others, but I did not perceive that my feelings were much affected. I did not pity the fishes nor the worms. This was habit. As for fowling, during the last years

that I carried a gun my excuse was that I was studying ornithology, and sought only new or rare birds. But I confess that I am now inclined to think that there is a finer way of studying ornithology than this. It requires so much closer attention to the habits of the birds, that, if for that reason only, I have been willing to omit the gun. Yet notwithstanding the objection on the score of humanity, I am compelled to doubt if equally valuable sports are ever substituted for these; and when some of my friends have asked me anxiously about their boys, whether they should let them hunt, I have answered, yes,—remembering that it was one of the best parts of my education,—*make* them hunters, though sportsmen only at first, if possible, mighty hunters at last, so that they shall not find game large enough for them in this or any vegetable wilderness,—hunters as well as fishers of men. Thus far I am of the opinion of Chaucer's nun, who

> "yave not of the text a pulled hen
> That saith that hunters ben not holy men."

There is a period in the history of the individual, as of the race, when the hunters are the "best men," as the Algonquins called them. We cannot but pity the boy who has never fired a gun; he is no more humane, while his education has been sadly neglected. This was my answer with respect to those youths who were bent on this pursuit, trusting that they would soon outgrow it. No humane being, past the thoughtless age of boyhood, will wantonly murder any creature which holds its life by the same tenure that he does. The hare in its extremity cries like a child. I warn you, mothers, that my sympathies do not always make the usual phil*anthropic* distinctions.

Such is oftenest the young man's introduction to the forest, and the most original part of himself. He goes thither at first as a hunter and fisher, until at last, if he has the seeds of a better life in him, he distinguishes his proper objects, as a poet or naturalist it may be, and leaves the gun and fish-pole behind. The mass of men are still and always young in this respect. In some countries a hunting parson is no uncommon sight. Such a one might make a good shepherd's dog, but is far from being the Good Shepherd. I have been surprised to consider that the only obvious employment, except wood-chopping, ice-cutting, or the like business, whichever to my knowledge detained at Walden Pond for a whole half-day any of my fellow-citizens, whether fathers or children of the town, with just one exception, was fishing. Commonly they did not think that they were lucky, or well paid for their time, unless they got a long string of fish, though they had the opportunity of seeing the pond all the while. They might go there a thousand times before the sediment of fishing would sink to the bottom and leave their purpose pure; but no doubt such a clarifying process would be going on all the while. The Governor and his Council faintly remember the pond, for

they went a-fishing there when they were boys; but now they are too old and dignified to go a-fishing, and so they know it no more forever. Yet even they expect to go to heaven at last. If the legislature regards it, it is chiefly to regulate the number of hooks to be used there; but they know nothing about the hook of hooks with which to angle for the pond itself, impaling the legislature for a bait. Thus, even in civilized communities, the embryo man passes through the hunter stage of development.

I have found repeatedly, of late years, that I cannot fish without falling a little in self-respect. I have tried it again and again. I have skill at it, and, like many of my fellows, a certain instinct for it, which revives from time to time, but always when I have done I feel that it would have been better if I had not fished. I think that I do not mistake. It is a faint intimation, yet so are the first streaks of morning. There is unquestionably this instinct in me which belongs to the lower orders of creation; yet with every year I am less a fisherman, though without more humanity or even wisdom; at present I am no fisherman at all. But I see that if I were to live in a wilderness I should again be tempted to become a fisher and hunter in earnest. Beside, there is something essentially unclean about this diet and all flesh, and I began to see where housework commences, and whence the endeavor, which costs so much, to wear a tidy and respectable appearance each day, to keep the house sweet and free from all ill odors and sights. Having been my own butcher and scullion and cook, as well as the gentleman for whom the dishes were served up, I can speak from an unusually complete experience. The practical objection to animal food in my case was its uncleanness; and besides, when I had caught and cleaned and cooked and eaten my fish, they seemed not to have fed me essentially. It was insignificant and unnecessary, and cost more than it came to. A little bread or a few potatoes would have done as well, with less trouble and filth. Like many of my contemporaries, I had rarely for many years used animal food, or tea, or coffee, etc.; not so much because of any ill effects which I had traced to them, as because they were not agreeable to my imagination. The repugnance to animal food is not the effect of experience, but is an instinct. It appeared more beautiful to live low and fare hard in many respects; and though I never did so, I went far enough to please my imagination. I believe that every man who has ever been earnest to preserve his higher or poetic faculties in the best condition has been particularly inclined to abstain from animal food, and from much food of any kind. It is a significant fact stated by entomologists,—I find it in Kirby and Spence,—that "some insects in their perfect state, though furnished with organs of feeding, make no use of them;" and they lay it down as "a general rule, that almost all insects in this state eat much less than in that of larvae. The voracious caterpillar when transformed into a butterfly . . . and the gluttonous maggot when become a fly"

content themselves with a drop or two of honey or some other sweet liquid. The abdomen under the wings of the butterfly still represents the larva. This is the tidbit which tempts his insectivorous fate. The gross feeder is a man in the larva state; and there are whole nations in that condition, nations without fancy or imagination, whose vast abdomens betray them.

It is hard to provide and cook so simple and clean a diet as will not offend the imagination; but this, I think, is to be fed when we feed the body; they should both sit down at the same table. Yet perhaps this may be done. The fruits eaten temperately need not make us ashamed of our appetites, nor interrupt the worthiest pursuits. But put an extra condiment into your dish, and it will poison you. It is not worth the while to live by rich cookery. Most men would feel shame if caught preparing with their own hands precisely such a dinner, whether of animal or vegetable food, as is every day prepared for them by others. Yet till this is otherwise we are not civilized, and, if gentlemen and ladies, are not true men and women. This certainly suggests what change is to be made. It may be vain to ask why the imagination will not be reconciled to flesh and fat. I am satisfied that it is not. Is it not a reproach that man is a carnivorous animal? True, he can and does live, in a great measure, by preying on other animals; but this is a miserable way, —as any one who will go to snaring rabbits, or slaughtering lambs, may learn,—and he will be regarded as a benefactor of his race who shall teach man to confine himself to a more innocent and wholesome diet. Whatever my own practice may be, I have no doubt that it is a part of the destiny of the human race, in its gradual improvement, to leave off eating animals, as surely as the savage tribes have left off eating each other when they came in contact with the more civilized.

If one listens to the faintest but constant suggestions of his genius, which are certainly true, he sees not to what extremes, or even insanity, it may lead him; and yet that way, as he grows more resolute and faithful, his road lies. The faintest assured objection which one healthy man feels will at length prevail over the arguments and customs of mankind. No man ever followed his genius till it misled him. Though the result were bodily weakness, yet perhaps no one can say that the consequences were to be regretted, for these were a life in conformity to higher principles. If the day and the night are such that you greet them with joy, and life emits a fragrance like flowers and sweet-scented herbs, is more elastic, more starry, more immortal, —that is your success. All nature is your congratulation, and you have cause momentarily to bless yourself. The greatest gains and values are farthest from being appreciated. We easily come to doubt if they exist. We soon forget them. They are the highest reality. Perhaps the facts most astounding and most real are never communicated by man to man. The true harvest of my daily life is somewhat as intangible and indescribable as the tints of morn-

ing or evening. It is a little star-dust caught, a segment of the rainbow which I have clutched.

Yet, for my part, I was never unusually squeamish; I could sometimes eat a fried rat with a good relish, if it were necessary. I am glad to have drunk water so long, for the same reason that I prefer the natural sky to an opium-eater's heaven. I would fain keep sober always; and there are infinite degrees of drunkenness. I believe that water is the only drink for a wise man; wine is not so noble a liquor; and think of dashing the hopes of a morning with a cup of warm coffee, or of an evening with a dish of tea! Ah, how low I fall when I am tempted by them! Even music may be intoxicating. Such apparently slight causes destroyed Greece and Rome, and will destroy England and America. Of all ebriosity, who does not prefer to be intoxicated by the air he breathes? I have found it to be the most serious objection to coarse labors long continued, that they compelled me to eat and drink coarsely also. But to tell the truth, I find myself at present somewhat less particular in these respects. I carry less religion to the table, ask no blessing; not because I am wiser than I was, but, I am obliged to confess, because, however much it is to be regretted, with years I have grown more coarse and indifferent. Perhaps these questions are entertained only in youth, as most believe of poetry. My practice is "nowhere," my opinion is here. Nevertheless I am far from regarding myself as one of those privileged ones to whom the Ved refers when it says, that "he who has true faith in the Omnipresent Supreme Being may eat all that exists," that is, is not bound to inquire what is his food, or who prepares it; and even in their case it is to be observed, as a Hindoo commentator has remarked, that the Vedant limits this privilege to "the time of distress."

Who has not sometimes derived an inexpressible satisfaction from his food in which appetite had no share? I have been thrilled to think that I owed a mental perception to the commonly gross sense of taste, that I have been inspired through the palate, that some berries which I had eaten on a hillside had fed my genius. "The soul not being mistress of herself," says Thseng-tseu, "one looks, and one does not see; one listens, and one does not hear; one eats, and one does not know the savor of food." He who distinguishes the true savor of his food can never be a glutton; he who does not cannot be otherwise. A puritan may go to his brown-bread crust with as gross an appetite as ever an alderman to his turtle. Not that food which entereth into the mouth defileth a man, but the appetite with which it is eaten. It is neither the quality nor the quantity, but the devotion to sensual savors; when that which is eaten is not a viand to sustain our animal, or inspire our spiritual life, but food for the worms that possess us. If the hunter has a taste for mud-turtles, muskrats, and other such savage tidbits, the fine lady indulges a taste for jelly made of a calf's foot, or for sardines

from over the sea, and they are even. He goes to the mill-pond, she to her preserve-pot. The wonder is how they, how you and I, can live this slimy, beastly life, eating and drinking.

Our whole life is startlingly moral. There is never an instant's truce between virtue and vice. Goodness is the only investment that never fails. In the music of the harp which trembles round the world it is the insisting on this which thrills us. The harp is the travelling patterer for the Universe's Insurance Company, recommending its laws, and our little goodness is all the assessment that we pay. Though the youth at last grows indifferent, the laws of the universe are not indifferent, but are forever on the side of the most sensitive. Listen to every zephyr for some reproof, for it is surely there, and he is unfortunate who does not hear it. We cannot touch a string or move a stop but the charming moral transfixes us. Many an irksome noise, go a long way off, is heard as music, a proud, sweet satire on the meanness of our lives.

We are conscious of an animal in us, which awakens in proportion as our higher nature slumbers. It is reptile and sensual, and perhaps cannot be wholly expelled; like the worms which, even in life and health, occupy our bodies. Possibly we may withdraw from it, but never change its nature. I fear that it may enjoy a certain health of its own; that we may be well, yet not pure. The other day I picked up the lower jaw of a hog, with white and sound teeth and tusks which suggested that there was an animal health and vigor distinct from the spiritual. This creature succeeded by other means than temperance and purity. "That in which men differ from brute beasts," says Mencius, "is a thing very inconsiderable; the common herd lose it very soon; superior men preserve it carefully." Who knows what sort of life would result if we had attained to purity? If I knew so wise a man as could teach me purity I would go to seek him forthwith. "A command over our passions, and over the external senses of the body, and good acts, are declared by the Ved to be indispensable in the mind's approximation to God." Yet the spirit can for the time pervade and control every member and function of the body, and transmute what in form is the grossest sensuality into purity and devotion. The generative energy, which, when we are loose, dissipates and makes us unclean, when we are continent invigorates and inspires us. Chastity is the flowering of man; and what are called Genius, Heroism, Holiness, and the like, are but various fruits which succeed it. Man flows at once to God when the channel of purity is open. By turns our purity inspires and our impurity casts us down. He is blessed who is assured that the animal is dying out in him day by day, and the divine being established. Perhaps there is none but has cause for shame on account of the inferior and brutish nature to which he is allied. I fear that we are such gods or demigods only as fauns and satyrs, the divine allied to beasts,

the creatures of appetite, and that, to some extent, our very life is our disgrace.—

> "How happy's he who hath due place assigned
> To his beasts and disafforested his mind! . . .
> Can use his horse, goat, wolf, and ev'ry beast,
> And is not ass himself to all the rest!
> Else man not only is the herd of swine,
> But he's those devils too which did incline
> Them to a headlong rage, and made them worse."

All sensuality is one, though it takes many forms; all purity is one. It is the same whether a man eat, or drink, or cohabit, or sleep sensually. They are but one appetite, and we only need to see a person do any one of these things to know how great a sensualist he is. The impure can neither stand nor sit with purity. When the reptile is attacked at one mouth of his burrow, he shows himself at another. If you would be chaste, you must be temperate. What is chastity? How shall a man know if he is chaste? He shall not know it. We have heard of this virtue, but we know not what it is. We speak conformably to the rumor which we have heard. From exertion come wisdom and purity; from sloth ignorance and sensuality. In the student sensuality is a sluggish habit of mind. An unclean person is universally a slothful one, one who sits by a stove, whom the sun shines on prostrate, who reposes without being fatigued. If you would avoid uncleanness, and all the sins, work earnestly, though it be at cleaning a stable. Nature is hard to be overcome, but she must be overcome. What avails it that you are Christian, if you are not purer than the heathen, if you deny yourself no more, if you are not more religious? I know of many systems of religion esteemed heathenish whose precepts fill the reader with shame, and provoke him to new endeavors, though it be to the performance of rites merely.

I hesitate to say these things, but it is not because of the subject—I care not how obscene my *words* are,—but because I cannot speak of them without betraying my impurity. We discourse freely without shame of one form of sensuality, and are silent about another. We are so degraded that we cannot speak simply of the necessary functions of human nature. In earlier ages, in some countries, every function was reverently spoken of and regulated by law. Nothing was too trivial for the Hindoo lawgiver, however offensive it may be to modern taste. He teaches how to eat, drink, cohabit, void excrement and urine, and the like, elevating what is mean, and does not falsely excuse himself by calling these things trifles.

Every man is the builder of a temple, called his body, to the god he worships, after a style purely his own, nor can he get off by hammering marble instead. We are all sculptors and painters, and our material is our own flesh and blood and bones. Any nobleness begins at once to refine a man's features, any meanness or sensuality to imbrute them.

John Farmer sat at his door one September evening, after a hard day's work, his mind still running on his labor more or less. Having bathed, he sat down to re-create his intellectual man. It was a rather cool evening, and some of his neighbors were apprehending a frost. He had not attended to the train of his thoughts long when he heard some one playing on a flute, and that sound harmonized with his mood. Still he thought of his work; but the burden of his thought was, that though this kept running in his head, and he found himself planning and contriving it against his will, yet it concerned him very little. It was no more than the scurf of his skin, which was constantly shuffled off. But the notes of the flute came home to his ears out of a different sphere from that he worked in, and suggested work for certain faculties which slumbered in him. They gently did away with the street, and the village, and the state in which he lived. A voice said to him, Why do you stay here and live this mean moiling life, when a glorious existence is possible for you? Those same stars twinkle over other fields than these.—But how to come out of this condition and actually migrate thither? All that he could think of was to practice some new austerity, to let his mind descend into his body and redeem it, and treat himself with ever increasing respect.

G. K. CHESTERTON The return to religion

IN THE DAYS when Huxley and Herbert Spencer and the Victorian agnostics were trumpeting as a final truth the famous hypothesis of Darwin, it seemed to thousands of simple people almost impossible that religion should survive. It is all the more ironic that it has not only survived them all, but it is a perfect example, perhaps the only real example, of what they called the Survival of the Fittest.

It so happens that it does really and truly fit in with the theory offered by Darwin; which was something totally different from most of the theories accepted by Darwinians. This real original theory of Darwin has since very largely broken down in the general field of biology and botany; but it does actually apply to this particular argument in the field of religious history. The recent reëmergence of our religion is a survival of the fittest as Darwin meant it, and not as popular Darwinism meant it; so far as it meant anything. Among the innumerable muddles, which mere materialistic fashion made out of the famous theory, there was in many quarters a queer idea that the Struggle for Existence was of necessity an actual struggle between the candidates for survival; literally a cutthroat competition. There was a vague idea that the strongest creature violently crushed the others. And the

notion that this was the one method of improvement came everywhere as good news to bad men; to bad rulers, to bad employers, to swindlers and sweaters and the rest. The brisk owner of a bucket shop compared himself modestly to a mammoth, trampling down other mammoths in the primeval jungle. The business man destroyed other business men, under the extraordinary delusion that the eohippic horse had devoured other eohippic horses. The rich man suddenly discovered that it was not only convenient but cosmic to starve or pillage the poor; because pterodactyls may have used their little hands to tear each other's eyes. Science, that nameless being, declared that the weakest must go to the wall; especially in Wall Street. There was a rapid decline and degradation in the sense of responsibility in the rich, from the merely rationalistic eighteenth century to the purely scientific nineteenth. The great Jefferson, when he reluctantly legalized slavery, said he trembled for his country, knowing that God is just. The profiteer of later times, when he legalized usury or financial trickery, was satisfied with himself, knowing that Nature is unjust.

But, however that may be (and of course the moral malady has survived scientific mistake) the people who talked thus of cannibal horses and competitive oysters, did not understand what Darwin's thesis was. If later biologists have condemned it, it should not be condemned without being understood, widely as it has been accepted without being understood. The point of Darwinism was not that a bird with a longer beak (let us say) thrust it into other birds, and had the advantage of a duelist with a longer sword. The point of Darwinism was that the bird with the longer beak could reach worms (let us say) at the bottom of a deeper hole; that the birds who could not do so would die; and he alone would remain to found a race of long-beaked birds. Darwinism suggested that if this happened a vast number of times, in a vast series of ages, it might account for the difference between the beaks of a sparrow and a stork. But the point was that the fittest did not need to *struggle* against the unfit. The survivor had nothing to do except to survive when the others could not survive. He survived because he alone had the features and organs necessary for survival. And, whatever be the truth about mammoths or monkeys, that is the exact truth about the present survival of religion. It is surviving because nothing else can survive.

Religion has returned; because all the various forms of scepticism that tried to take its place, and do its work, have by this time tied themselves into such knots that they cannot do anything. That chain of causation of which they were fond of talking seems really to have served them after the fashion of the proverbial rope; and when modern discussion gave them rope enough, they quite rapidly hanged themselves. For there is not a single one of the fashionable forms of scientific scepticism, or determinism,

that does not end in stark paralysis, touching the practical conduct of human life. Take any three of the normal and necessary ideas on which civilization and even society depend. First, let us say, a scientific man of the old normal nineteenth-century sort would remark, "We can at least have common sense, in its proper meaning of a sense of reality common to all; we can have common morals, for without them we cannot even have a community; a man must in the ordinary sense obey the law, and especially the moral law." Then the newer sceptic, who is progressive and has gone further and fared worse, will immediately say, "Why should you worship the taboo of your particular tribe? Why should you accept prejudices that are the product of a blind herd instinct? Why is there any authority in the unanimity of a flock of frightened sheep?" Suppose the normal man falls back on the deeper argument: "I am not terrorised by the tribe; I do keep my independent judgment; I have a conscience and a light of justice within, which judges the world." And the stronger sceptic will answer: "If the light in your body be darkness—and it is darkness because it is only in your body, what are your judgments but the incurable twist and bias of your particular heredity and accidental environment? What can we know about judgments, except that they must all be equally unjust? For they are all equally conditioned by defects and individual ignorances, all of them different and none of them distinguishable; for there exists no single man so sane and separate as to be able to distinguish them justly. Why should your conscience be any more reliable than your rotting teeth or your quite special defect of eyesight? God bless us all, one would think you believed in God!" Then perhaps the normal person will get annoyed and say rather snappishly: "At least I suppose we are men of science; there is science to appeal to and she will always answer: the evidential and experimental discovery of real things." And the other sceptic will answer, if he has any sense of humour: "Why, certainly. Sir Arthur Eddington is Science; and he will tell you that science cannot destroy religion, or even defend the multiplication table. Sir Bertram Windle was Science; and he would tell you that the scientific mind is completely satisfied in the Roman Catholic Church. For that matter, Sir Oliver Lodge was Science; and he reached by purely experimental and evidential methods to a solid belief in ghosts. But I admit that there are men of science who cannot get to a solid belief in anything; even in science; even in themselves. There is the crystallographer of Cambridge who writes in the *Spectator* the lucid sentence: 'We know that most of what we know is probably untrue.' Does that help you on a bit, in founding your sane and solid society?"

We have of course seen just lately the most dramatic exit of great material scientists from the camp of Materialism. It was Eddington, I think, who used the phrase that the universe seems to be more like a great thought than a

great machine: and Dr. Whitney, as reported, has declared that there is no rational description of the ultimate cosmic motion except the Will of God. But it is the perishing of the other things, at least as much as the persistence of one thing, that has left us at last face to face with the ancient religion of our fathers. The thing once called free thought has come finally to threaten everything that is free. It denies personal freedom in denying free will and the human power of choice. It threatens civic freedom with a plague of hygienic and psychological quackeries, spreading over the land such a network of pseudo-scientific nonsense as free citizens have never yet endured in history. It is quite likely to reverse religious freedom, in the name of some barbarous nostrum or other, such as constitutes the crude and ill-cultured creed of Russia. It is perfectly capable of imposing silence and impotence from without. But there is no doubt whatever that it imposes silence and impotence from within. The whole trend of it, which began as a drive and has ended in a drift, is towards some form of the theory that a man cannot help himself; that a man cannot mend himself; above all, that a man cannot free himself. In all its novels and most of its newspaper articles it takes for granted that men are stamped and fixed in certain types of abnormality of anarchical weakness; that they are pinned and labelled in a museum of morality or immorality; or of that sort of unmorality which is more priggish than the one and more hoggish than the other. We are practically told that we might as well ask a fossil to reform itself. We are told that we are asking a stuffed bird to repent. We are all dead, and the only comfort is that we are all classified. For by this philosophy, which is the same as that of the blackest of Puritan heresies, we all died before we were born. But as it is Kismet without Allah, so also it is Calvinism without God.

The agnostics will be gratified to learn that it is entirely due to their own energy and enterprise, to their own activity in pursuing their own antics, that the world has at last tired of their antics and told them so. We have done very little against them; *non nobis, Domine;* the glory of their final overthrow is all their own. We have done far less than we should have done to explain all that balance of subtlety and sanity which is meant by a Christian civilization. Our thanks are due to those who have so generously helped us, by giving a glimpse of what might be meant by a Pagan civilization. And what is lost in that society is not so much religion as reason; the ordinary common daylight of intellectual instinct that has guided the children of men. A world in which men know that most of what they know is probably untrue cannot be dignified with the name of a sceptical world; it is simply an impotent and abject world, not attacking anything, but accepting everything while trusting nothing, accepting even its own incapacity to attack, accepting its own lack of authority to accept, doubting its very right to doubt. We are grateful for this public experiment and demon-

stration; it has taught us much. We did not believe that rationalists were so utterly mad until they made it quite clear to us. We did not ourselves think that the mere denial of our dogmas could end in such dehumanised and demented anarchy. It might have taken the world a long time to understand that what it had been taught to dismiss as mediaeval theology was often mere common sense; although the very term common sense, or *communis sententia,* was a mediaeval conception. But it took the world very little time to understand that the talk on the other side was most uncommon nonsense. It was nonsense that could not be made the basis of any common system, such as has been founded upon common sense.

To take one example out of many: the whole question of Marriage has been turned into a question of Mood. The enemies of marriage did not have the patience to remain in their relatively strong position; that marriage could not be proved to be sacramental; and that some exceptions must be treated as exceptions, so long as it was merely social. They could not be content to say that it is not a sacrament but a contract; and that exceptional legal action might break a contract. They brought objections against it that would be quite as facile and quite as futile, if brought against any other contract. They said that a man is never in the same mood for ten minutes together; that he must not be asked to admire in a red daybreak what he admired in a yellow sunset; that no man can say he will even be the same man by the next month or the next minute; that new and nameless tortures may afflict him if his wife wears a different hat; or that he may plunge her into hell by putting on a pair of socks that does not harmonise with somebody else's carpet. It is quite obvious that this sort of sensitive insanity applies as much to any other human relation as to this relation. A man cannot choose a profession because, long before he has qualified as an architect, he may have mystically changed into an aviator, or been convulsed in rapid suggestion by the emotions of a ticket-collector, a trombone-player, and a professional harpooner of whales. A man dare not buy a house, for fear a fatal stranger with the wrong sort of socks should come into it, or for fear his own mind should be utterly changed in the matter of carpets or cornices. A man may suddenly decline to do any business with his own business partner, because he also, like the cruel husband, wears the wrong necktie. And I saw a serious printed appeal for sympathy for a wife who deserted her family because her psychology was incompatible with an orange necktie. This is only one application, as I say, but it exactly illustrates how the sceptical principle is now applied, and how scepticism has recently changed from apparent sense to quite self-evident nonsense. The heresies not only decay but destroy themselves—in any case they perish without a blow.

For the reply, not merely of religion but of reason and the rooted sanity of mankind, is obvious enough. "If you feel like that, why certainly you will

not found families, or found anything else. You will not build houses; you will not make partnerships; you will not in any fashion do the business of the world. You will never plant a tree lest you wish next week you had planted it somewhere else; you will never put a potato into a pot or stew, because it will be too late to take it out again; your whole mood is stricken and riddled with cowardice and sterility; your whole way of attacking any problem is to think of excuses for not attacking it at all. Very well, so be it; the Lord be with you. You may be respected for being sincere; you may be pitied for being sensitive; you may retain some of the corrective qualities which make it useful on occasion to be sceptical. But if you are too sceptical to do these things, you must stand out of the way of those who can do them; you must hand over the world to those who believe that the world is workable, to those who believe that men can make houses, make partnerships, make appointments, make promises—and keep them. And, if it is necessary in order to keep a promise or boil a potato or behave like a human being to believe in God making Man, in God being made Man, or in God made Man coming in the clouds in glory—well, then you must at least give a chance to these credulous fanatics, who can believe the one and who can do the other." That is what I mean by the spiritual Survival of the Fittest. That is why the old phrase, which is probably a mistake in natural history, is a truth in supernatural history. The organic thing called religion has, in fact, the organs that take hold on life. It can feed where the fastidious doubter finds no food; it can reproduce where the solitary sceptic boasts of being barren. It may be accepting a miracle to believe in free will; but it is accepting madness, sooner or later, to disbelieve in it. It may be a wild risk to make a vow; but it is a quiet, crawling, and inevitable ruin to refuse to make a vow. It may be incredible that one creed is the truth and the others are relatively false; but it is not only incredible, but also intolerable, that there is no truth either in or out of creeds, and all are equally false. For nobody can ever set anything right, if everybody is equally wrong. The intense interest of the moment is that the Man of Science, the hero of the modern world and the latest of the great servants of humanity, has suddenly and dramatically refused to have anything more to do with this dreary business of nibbling negation, and blind scratching and scraping away of the very foundations of the mastery of man. For the work of the sceptic for the past hundred years has indeed been very like the fruitless fury of some primeval monster; eyeless, mindless, merely destructive and devouring; a giant worm wasting away a world that he could not even see; a benighted and bestial life, unconscious of its own cause and of its own consequences. But Man has taken to himself again his own weapons—will, and worship, and reason, and the vision of the plan in things; and we are once more in the morning of the world.

ALBERT EINSTEIN Science and religion

IT WOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT to come to an agreement as to what we understand by science. Science is the century-old endeavor to bring together by means of systematic thought the perceptible phenomena of this world into as thoroughgoing an association as possible. To put it boldly, it is the attempt at the posterior reconstruction of existence by the process of conceptualization. But when asking myself what religion is, I cannot think of the answer so easily. And even after finding an answer which may satisfy me at this particular moment, I still remain convinced that I can never under any circumstances bring together, even to a slight extent, all those who have given this question serious consideration.

At first, then, instead of asking what religion is, I should prefer to ask what characterizes the aspirations of a person who gives me the impression of being religious: a person who is religiously enlightened appears to me to be one who has, to the best of his ability, liberated himself from the fetters of his selfish desires and is preoccupied with thoughts, feelings, and aspirations to which he clings because of their super-personal value. It seems to me that what is important is the force of this super-personal content and the depth of the conviction concerning its overpowering meaningfulness, regardless of whether any attempt is made to unite this content with a Divine Being, for otherwise it would not be possible to count Buddha and Spinoza as religious personalities. Accordingly, a religious person is devout in the sense that he has no doubt of the significance and loftiness of those super-personal objects and goals which neither require nor are capable of rational foundation. They exist with the same necessity and matter-of-factness as he himself. In this sense religion is the age-old endeavor of mankind to become clearly and completely conscious of these values and goals and constantly to strengthen and extend their effects. If one conceives of religion and science according to these definitions then a conflict between them appears impossible. For science can only ascertain what *is*, but not what should be, and outside of its domain value judgments of all kinds remain necessary. Religion, on the other hand, deals only with evaluations of human thought and action; it cannot justifiably speak of facts and relationships between facts. According to this interpretation, the well-known conflicts between religion and science in the past must all be ascribed to a misapprehension of the situation which has been described.

For example, a conflict arises when a religious community insists on the absolute truthfulness of all statements recorded in the Bible. This means an intervention on the part of religion into the sphere of science; this is where

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the struggle of the Church against the doctrines of Galileo and Darwin belongs. On the other hand, representatives of science have often made an attempt to arrive at fundamental judgments with respect to values and ends on the basis of scientific method, and in this way have set themselves in opposition to religion. These conflicts have all sprung from fatal errors.

Now, even though the realms of religion and science in themselves are clearly marked off from each other, nevertheless there exist between the two, strong reciprocal relationships and dependencies. Though religion may be that which determines the goal, it has, nevertheless, learned from science, in the broadest sense, what means will contribute to the attainment of the goals it has set up. But science can only be created by those who are thoroughly imbued with the aspiration towards truth and understanding. This source of feeling, however, springs from the sphere of religion. To this there also belongs the faith in the possibility that the regulations valid for the world of existence are rational, that is comprehensible to reason. I cannot conceive of a genuine scientist without that profound faith. The situation may be expressed by an image: science without religion is lame, religion without science is blind.

Though I have asserted above, that in truth a legitimate conflict between religion and science cannot exist, I must nevertheless qualify this assertion once again on an essential point, with reference to the actual content of historical religions. This qualification has to do with the concept of God. During the youthful period of mankind's spiritual evolution, human fantasy created gods in man's own image, who, by the operations of their will were supposed to determine, or at any rate to influence, the phenomenal world. Man sought to alter the disposition of these gods in his own favor by means of magic and prayer. The idea of God in the religions taught at present is a sublimation of that old conception of the gods. Its anthropomorphic character is shown, for instance, by the fact that men appeal to the Divine Being in prayers and plead for the fulfilment of their wishes.

Nobody, certainly, will deny that the idea of the existence of an omnipotent, just and omnibeneficent personal God is able to accord man solace, help, and guidance; also, by virtue of its simplicity the concept is accessible to the most undeveloped mind. But, on the other hand, there are decisive weaknesses attached to this idea in itself, which have been painfully felt since the beginning of history. That is, if this Being is omnipotent, then every occurrence, including every human action, every human thought, and every human feeling and aspiration is also His work; how is it possible to think of holding men responsible for their deeds and thoughts before such an Almighty Being? In giving out punishment and rewards He would to a certain extent be passing judgment on Himself. How can this be combined with the goodness and righteousness ascribed to Him?

The main source of the present-day conflicts between the spheres of religion and of science lies in this concept of a personal God. It is the aim of science to establish general rules which determine the reciprocal connection of objects and events in time and space. For these rules, or laws of nature, absolutely general validity is required—not proven. It is mainly a program, and faith in the possibility of its accomplishment in principle is only founded on partial success. But hardly anyone could be found who would deny these partial successes and ascribe them to human self-deception. The fact that on the basis of such laws we are able to predict the temporal behavior of phenomena in certain domains with great precision and certainty, is deeply embedded in the consciousness of the modern man, even though he may have grasped very little of the contents of those laws. He need only consider that planetary courses within the solar system may be calculated in advance with great exactitude on the basis of a limited number of simple laws. In a similar way, though not with the same precision, it is possible to calculate in advance the mode of operation of an electric motor, a transmission system, or of a wireless apparatus, even when dealing with a novel development.

To be sure, when the number of factors coming into play in a phenomenological complex is too large, scientific method in most cases fails us. One need only think of the weather, in which case prediction even for a few days ahead is impossible. Nevertheless no one doubts that we are confronted with a causal connection whose causal components are in the main known to us. Occurrences in this domain are beyond the reach of exact prediction because of the variety of factors in operation, not because of any lack of order in nature.

We have penetrated far less deeply into the regularities obtaining within the realm of living things, but deeply enough nevertheless to sense at least the rule of fixed necessity. One need only think of the systematic order in heredity, and in the effect of poisons, as for instance alcohol on the behavior of organic beings. What is still lacking here is a grasp of connections of profound generality, but not a knowledge of order in itself.

The more a man is imbued with the ordered regularity of all events, the firmer becomes his conviction that there is no room left by the side of this ordered regularity for causes of a different nature. For him neither the rule of human nor the rule of Divine Will exists as an independent cause of natural events. To be sure, the doctrine of a personal God interfering with natural events could never be *refuted*, in the real sense, by science, for this doctrine can always take refuge in those domains in which scientific knowledge has not yet been able to set foot.

But I am persuaded that such behavior on the part of the representatives of religion would not only be unworthy but also fatal. For a doctrine which

is able to maintain itself not in clear light but only in the dark, will of necessity lose its effect on mankind, with incalculable harm to human progress. In their struggle for the ethical good, teachers of religion must have the stature to give up the doctrine of a personal God, that is, give up that source of fear and hope which in the past placed such vast power in the hands of priests. In their labors they will have to avail themselves of those forces which are capable of cultivating the Good, the True, and the Beautiful in humanity itself. This is, to be sure, a more difficult but an incomparably more worthy task.[1] After religious teachers accomplish the refining process indicated, they will surely recognize with joy that true religion has been ennobled and made more profound by scientific knowledge.

If it is one of the goals of religion to liberate mankind as far as possible from the bondage of egocentric cravings, desires, and fears, scientific reasoning can aid religion in yet another sense. Although it is true that it is the goal of science to discover rules which permit the association and foretelling of facts, this is not its only aim. It also seeks to reduce the connections discovered to the smallest possible number of mutually independent conceptual elements. It is in this striving after the rational unification of the manifold that it encounters its greatest successes, even though it is precisely this attempt which causes it to run the greatest risk of falling a prey to illusions. But whoever has undergone the intense experience of successful advances made in this domain, is moved by profound reverence for the rationality made manifest in existence. By way of the understanding he achieves a far-reaching emancipation from the shackles of personal hopes and desires, and thereby attains that humble attitude of mind towards the grandeur of reason incarnate in existence, which, in its profoundest depths, is inaccessible to man. This attitude, however, appears to me to be religious, in the highest sense of the word. And so it seems to me that science not only purifies the religious impulse of the dross of its anthropomorphism, but also contributes to a religious spiritualization of our understanding of life.

The further the spiritual evolution of mankind advances, the more certain it seems to me that the path to genuine religiosity does not lie through the fear of life, and the fear of death, and blind faith, but through striving after rational knowledge. In this sense I believe that the priest must become a teacher if he wishes to do justice to his lofty educational mission.

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[1] This thought is convincingly presented in Herbert Samuel's book, "Belief and Action."

Environment

The world in which we live—the world of farms as well as towns and cities—confronts us with important environmental problems. We need to know what is happening to the soil which grows life-giving food, what the economic situation does to our lives, what our communities are like. These matters are the concern of this section. It begins with one of Sherwood Anderson's descriptions of his early life, the poverty of his home, and the effect poverty had on the small children in the family. There follows a discussion of "Our Plundered Nation" by Fairfield Osborn—an examination of the result of our reckless waste of natural resources. The section concludes with Stuart Chase's "In Darkest Middletown," a summary of recent studies of life in the town and in the city, which offers valuable generalizations. Supplementary considerations include: "Open Air Life in the West," page 14; "Why *The Reader's Digest* Is Popular," page 25; and "The Revolt of Capital," page 75.

Poverty

SHERWOOD ANDERSON

A personal discovery

THE BRICK HOUSE in Clyde indeed was very small. How we all managed to live in it is still a mystery to me, for other children continually were coming. More children coming and father often without work. In Clyde he soon lost his place in the harness shop. It may have been due to one of the periods of depression, the two men who owned the shop, the brothers Irwin, compelled to retrench, no more work coming in, no new harness being sold, or it may have been father's fault, his work neglected, he running off to some reunion of Civil War veterans or perhaps gone into one of his periods of drinking when he could not work.

But, at any rate, there is a winter of hardship fixed in my mind, mother struggling to in some way take father's place as the family breadwinner. She had father paint a sign on cardboard and hang on the front door of our house. It said that mother would take in family sewing. I do not believe that any sewing ever came to her.

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I remember my resentment. It may have been that mother was again big with child and could not work. She would already, during that for us so terrible winter, have begun taking in family washing but, the new child being on the way, would have had to give up that work while we became objects of charity, neighbors bringing food to our door, we children half unaware of the terror of actual hunger and yet, even as small children, vaguely conscious of our mother's fright and sadness, the tears often coming suddenly to her eyes so that we all began to cry loudly in sympathy with her. There would be the strange long periods of silence in the house, myself, with the two other children, Karl and Stella, going along neighboring railroad tracks on winter days and picking up pieces of coal dropped from trains to keep the one stove in our house going, we all, in winter evenings, huddled about the stove in the little kitchen, no lamp burning, as there would have been no oil for it, and then the crawling into bed in the darkness, all of us in one bed, frightened by something we had seen in mother's eyes and huddled together for safety and warmth.

Father would have been much from home during that winter. It was our hardest one. Painting the sign announcing mother's willingness to become a seamstress may have set off the artist in him. It may have been that winter that he became a sign painter, going off somewhere seeking jobs.

But I have written much of my father in another book of mine, *A Story Teller's Story*, of his many vagaries and, I trust, a little of his charm, and must not too much repeat, although (it may be because so many of my father's characteristics are also mine) he will always be a tempting subject to me. And what I am wondering as I write is whether during that, our hardest winter, mother was carrying my brother Earl. For I am quite sure there was in me already a resentment of the fact of her pregnancy, a resentment that must have also been in my brother Karl and my sister Stella. At the time we could hardly have known by what mysterious process our mother had become pregnant but also there may have been a vague realization of the father's having to do with it. My sister and I had seen the little pigs born of the mother pig in the field. After the event, it was never spoken of between my sister and myself but it would have been remembered. It is quite possible that Karl and perhaps Stella were already going to school and would have seen the obscene drawings I was later to see scrawled on the schoolhouse fence and on the walls of the boys' privy. They may have been laughed at for the notion of children dropped into houses from the sky by birds.

I am also wondering if the same resentment of renewed pregnancy is not in all children born in all families among the poor? At any rate, it was a resentment that my brother Earl, the last but one of the seven children

mother bore, felt all his life. All through his life and until his premature death he continued to feel himself an unwanted child.

But I will not here attempt to tell of my brother Earl's strange fate. Here I only want to suggest that at the end of his life when I went to him as he lay paralyzed and dying, and after the long years when he kept himself hidden away from the rest of us in the little workman's boarding house in the city of Brooklyn, in the room that my brother Karl, when he went to him after the stroke that laid him low, found filled with paintings, paintings under his bed, paintings packed away in his closet, paintings everywhere, no one of which had been sold or even shown to others—when I sat beside him as he lay dying and unable to speak, he took a pencil into his hand and wrote the words: "I was unwanted. You others did not want me to be born and mother did not want me."

As I said, I will write of Earl's strange life in another and later part of this book. Here I am only thinking of the dim awareness and resentment of a mother's pregnancy in small children in a destitute family. It was sharp in me. It is the feeling that comes thus to a small child, seeing the sudden new shapelessness of a mother, sensing without quite knowing of, the coming event—is it jealousy of a mother's love which must again be more widely distributed? I only know the feeling as a part of the experience of that particular winter, along with resentment that other children of the neighborhood could be more warmly clad, that they did not have to go to the railroad to search for coal with half-frozen fingers, that they could have new shoes when the soles of my own and my brother's and sister's had become loose so that our toes stuck out, that they lived in warmer houses and their fathers seemed to have a kind of dignity our father could not achieve; I only know that along with these resentments was this other and sharper one, so that when the child was born I hated it also, and when I had been called into a room to see it lying so small and red in the bed beside mother I crept away into a little shed at the back of the house and had a good long and lonely cry.

FAIRFIELD OSBORN Our plundered nation

THE STORY OF OUR NATION in the last century as regards the use of forests, grasslands, wildlife and water sources is the most violent and the most destructive of any written in the long history of civilization. The velocity of events is unparalleled and we today are still so near to it that it is almost

impossible to realize what has happened, or, far more important, what is still happening. Actually it is the story of human energy unthinking and uncontrolled. No wonder there is this new concept of man as a large-scale geological force, mentioned on an earlier page.

In the attempt to gain at least some perspective let us review a little. Our people came to a country of unique natural advantages, of varying yet favorable climates, where the earth's resources were apparently limitless. Incredible energy marked the effort of a young nation to hack new homes for freedom-loving people out of the vast wilderness of forests that extended interminably to the grassland areas of the Midwest. Inevitably the quickest methods were used in putting the land to cultivation, not the desirable methods. Great areas of forest were completely denuded by ax or fire, without thought of the relationship of forests to water sources, or to the soil itself. Constantly there was the rising pressure for cultivable land caused by the rapid inpouring of new settlers. By about 1830 most of the better land east of the Mississippi was occupied. In that year there were approximately 13,000,000 people in this country, or less than one tenth of the present population. In the meanwhile the land in the South, long occupied and part of the original colonies, was being devoted more and more extensively to cotton, highly profitable as export to the looms in England, and tobacco, for which there was a growing world market. These are known as clean-tilled crops, meaning that the earth is left completely bare except for the plantings and is a type of land use most susceptible to loss of topsoil by erosion. Today a large proportion, in many areas from one third to one half, of the land originally put to productive use for the growing of cotton and tobacco has become wasteland and has had to be abandoned. It is not unusual for Southerners to blame the Civil War and its aftereffects for their impoverishment. There are other reasons.

There is no particular point in tracing the westward surge of settlers over the great grass plains that lay beyond the Mississippi and on to the vast forested slopes bordering the Pacific. Everyone knows the story. It is significant, however, that the movement, dramatic as any incident in human history, was symbolized by the phrases "subjugating the land" and "conquering the continent." It was a positive conquest in terms of human fortitude and energy. It was a destructive conquest, and still continues to be one, in terms of human understanding that nature is an ally and not an enemy.

Incidentally, it is not generally realized that the prairies, the long-grass country, and the plains, the short-grass country, occupy nearly 40 per cent of the land surface of the United States. Here today are the greatest corn and grain producing regions in the world—as well as the great natural ranges for cattle and other livestock. Here limitless areas of natural grassland have been plowed for crop production. The possibilities of a continued and re-

lentless process of land deterioration are involved. Proper land use can prevent these, but are we prepared and organized to apply the available knowledges regarding the correct utilization and long-term protection of productive soils? One is reminded of the farmer who was not doing right by his land and was urged to go to a meeting on methods of soil conservation. "There's no use my going to that meeting about farming better," he said. "I don't farm as good as I know how to now." The final test for our nation, a crisis yet to be met, is whether the national attitude will be similar to that of the farmer, or will we have the foresight and intelligence to act before we are met with the disaster that is steadily drawing nearer?

A detailed presentation of what has happened area by area would fill many volumes. A large amount of precise information has been gathered together by various governmental services, by other conservation agencies, and by a handful of individuals whose perception has led them to give attention to an unfolding drama that is as yet visible to so few.

The submission of the following general facts may serve to throw light on what has happened to our land since those bright days when we began to "conquer the continent."

The land area of the United States amounts to approximately one billion nine hundred million acres. In its original or natural state about 40 per cent was primeval forest, nearly an equal amount was grass or range lands, the remainder being natural desert or extremely mountainous.

Today the primeval or virgin forest has been so reduced that it covers less than 7 per cent of our entire land area. If to this there are added other forested areas consisting of stands of second- or even third-growth forests, many of which are in poor condition, and if scattered farm woodlands are also included, it is found that the forested areas now aggregate only slightly more than 20 per cent of the total land area of our country. If urban lands, desert and wastelands, and mountaintop areas, are subtracted there is left somewhat over one billion acres which can be roughly divided into three categories: farm croplands, farm pasture lands and range-grazing lands.

The situation as to our remaining forests is becoming increasingly serious. Some idea of recent and present trends can be gained from the information contained in the last annual report of the Forest Service of the Federal Government, wherein it is stated that the estimated total stand of saw timber in the country in 1909 was 2826 billion board feet and that the estimate for the year 1945 totaled only 1601 billion board feet, indicating that in 36 years the nation's "woodpile" has been reduced by 44 per cent. The report goes on to state that the drop in volume of standing timber since 1909 has been much greater than these figures indicate. Many kinds of trees which were considered of no value in 1909 are now being used and are included in the 1945 estimate. It is significantly pointed out that more than half of the

present total saw-timber resource is in what is left of our virgin forests and that 96 per cent of the virgin timber is in the Western states. This latter statement is of particular interest in the light of a new and serious kind of threat that will be commented on in a moment.

While the drain on our forests for fuel wood, pulpwood, and manufacturing uses, together with losses resulting from fires, wind and ice storms, damage by insects and tree diseases, is almost being met by each year's growth, the bulk of our forestry industry depends on saw timber. For this purpose the annual drain on the nation's forests approximates 54 billion board feet, while the annual growth is only approximately 35 billion board feet. In other words the annual loss exceeds growth by more than 50 per cent. It does not take much mathematics to prove that our country cannot go on this way much longer. We are repeating the errors that, as we have seen, have undermined so many other countries in earlier periods of history.

At this very moment a new body blow is being struck at our forests. This is a triple-threat blow, because a blow at forest reserves is one of synchronized impact upon water sources and fertile soils—as deadly ultimately as any delayed-action bomb. Highly organized minority groups are now engaged in determined attempts to wrest away the public lands of the Western states, and turn these regions to their own uses. Within the boundaries of these public domains lie the extensive grazing lands that help support the cattle industry of the West. These lands are open to use by individual cattle owners at small, in fact, nominal cost. Within these boundaries, too, lie almost all our last great forest reserves. These public lands, in which every American owns a share, lie principally in eleven Western states, namely: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.

The public lands came into existence in the earliest days of our nation. They were created as a solution to a vexatious question that arose in the deliberations of the thirteen original states at the time the Union was formed. The small seaboard states insisted that provision be made in the Articles of Confederation to prevent the land-rich states on the Appalachian frontier from expanding their boundaries indefinitely to the West and thus dominating the government. All of the original states at that time agreed to give up their claims to the Western lands and ceded them to the Federal Government. As settlement progressed westward, it was planned that these vast tracts would be formed into new states with the same rights as enjoyed by the original states. In 1787 the Constitution that was evolved upon this basic understanding became a fundamental of American law. Since that year the United States has been enlarged by a series of acquisitions under treaties with other powers, such as the Louisiana Purchase, the Florida Purchase and the Admission of Texas. That is another story. In all thirty-

five states have been carved from the public domain, each of them receiving a gift of land, often of many millions of acres, and yet, as each new state was created, there were retained in the name of the Federal Government, for the benefit of all the people of the nation, these areas of public lands. During the nineteenth century land appeared to be limitless and few people were at all concerned about how it was used, although even as early as 1836 bills began to appear in Congress to provide some protecting regulations for the lands owned by the government. The proportion of Federal lands remaining as public domain varies in each state, ranging from under 100,000 acres in Iowa to 87 per cent in Nevada. This disparity in the ratio of Federal lands to state and private holdings is one of the reasons for the present controversy. It should not be thought of as a major reason, however. The powerful attacks now being made by small minority groups upon the public lands of the West have one primary motivation and one consuming objective —to exploit the grazing lands and these last forest reserves for every dollar of profit that can be wrung from them. As we have seen in other countries the profit motive, if carried to the extreme, has one certain result—the ultimate death of the land.

The eleven Western states which contain the largest proportion of Federal lands have become known as the "public land states." In practically all of them either the cattle business or lumbering is the major industry. Use of the public lands by cattle owners has always been permitted, and, in turn, permits for controlled cutting in the national forests are regularly granted. These rights have frequently been gained at extremely low cost. The fees paid today by cattle-grazing permittees are to all intents and purposes merely nominal ones. Overgrazing in the public lands reached such an alarming point a number of years ago that legislation known as the Taylor Grazing Act was passed in 1934 to control the abuses. For a while this legislation did some good, but as far as beneficial results today are concerned, this act, which was designed to "prevent over-grazing and soil deterioration," might almost as well never have been enacted into law. Powerful minority groups of cattlemen now dominate its administration, their representatives comprising the personnel of the advisory boards that were established in each of the cattle-industry states. In effect these boards are not advisory at all but over the years have acquired sufficient power to greatly influence the regulations, as to both the number of cattle that can graze in a region and the fees for grazing rights to be paid by cattle owners, half of which go to the counties in which the land is situated, mainly for the benefit of rural schools, and the other half to the Federal Government.

The maneuvers of the powerful minority groups of livestock men, skillfully supported by their representatives in Congress, have a definite bearing on the preservation of the remaining reserves of forests in the Western states.

Having taken over virtual control of the Federal Grazing Service they now are attempting similarly to control the Forest Service, and, from their point of view, with good reason. The national forests in the Western states contain approximately 135,000,000 acres of land, of which some 80,000,000 acres are now being grazed by cattle or sheep. So far the Forest Service's control of the number of animals permitted to graze in a region has been reasonably effective, although actually there has already been considerable overgrazing in some of the national forests.

But the livestock owners are not satisfied and want more privileges. The game is almost too easy, the methods of getting what they want almost too simple. The Grazing Service was emasculated by Congress's reducing its field service budget to one third of what was needed to provide proper supervision of the ranges. There's generally more than one way of accomplishing an end! Overgrazing in forested areas is ultimately as damaging to forests, because of soil erosion, as slash cutting for the sawmill. As to the latter, let no American think that certain self-seeking groups in the lumber industry are not out to hack what they can from the public domain. They will pay for the right to cut but they can never pay enough because there are not enough forests left. Heretofore our national parks have been held inviolate but even now one of them, the Olympic in the state of Washington, is threatened by legislation pending in Congress that would turn over to exploitation a tract of some 56,000 acres of virgin timber. Wilderness heritages going to the buzz-saw!

The assault now being made upon the public lands finds its expression in a number of bills that have been presented to Congress within the last two or three years. They represent an attack more desperate in its nature than any similar one in the history of our country. The purpose of this proposed legislation is, in the main, to transfer the control of these resources from the Federal Government to the several states, with the implicit danger that thereafter they will fall into the hands of individuals for final liquidation. If any of this proposed legislation were enacted into law it would be the opening wedge; if the assault were generally successful it would irremediably injure a great region whose living natural resources serve as a wellspring to the well-being of our entire nation. Shades of the Mesta!

A consideration of the situation of land resources in our country shows that other than forests there are, as mentioned above, about a billion acres that fall into the three categories of farm croplands, farm pasture lands and open-range grazing lands. Of these, farm croplands are the largest in area, running to approximately 460,000,000 acres. What has happened in regard to these resources and what is going on now?

The most recent report of the Soil Conservation Service of the government contains a number of pertinent statements. They are a factual recital.

They point to a velocity of loss of the basic living elements of our country which, if continued, will bring upon us a national catastrophe. Already every American is beginning to be affected in one way or another by what is happening. This report indicates that of the above billion acres considerably more than one quarter have now been ruined or severely impoverished, and that the remainder are damaged in varying degrees. Furthermore, the damage is continuing on all kinds of land—cropland, grazing land and pasture land. Here are other highlights in the report:

The loss we sustain by this continuing erosion is staggering. Careful estimates based on actual measurements indicate that soil losses by erosion from all lands in the United States total 5,400,000,000 tons annually. From farm lands alone, the annual loss is about 3 billion tons, enough to fill a freight train which would girdle the globe 18 times. If these losses were to go on unchecked, the results would be tragic for America and for the world.

The results would not only be disastrous—they already are far too costly for the country to continue to bear. For example, in a normal production year, erosion by wind and water removes 21 times as much plant food from the soil as is removed in the crops sold off this land.

Nor is loss of plant food our only expense from erosion. The total annual cost to the United States as a result of uncontrolled erosion and water runoff is estimated at $3,844,000,000. This includes the value of the eroded soil material and the plant nutrients it contains, the direct loss sustained by farmers, and damages caused by floods and erosion to highways, railroads, waterways, and other facilities and resources.

The loss in the productive capacity of our farms cannot be figured so easily, but it is plain that farm lands which have lost so much topsoil and plant nutrients cannot produce as bountifully as they did before they were slashed and impoverished by erosion.

In that fact lies the significance of America's erosion problem for America's citizens. We do not have too much good cropland available for production of our essential food and fiber crops in the future. If we do not protect what we have, and rebuild the land which can still be restored for productive use, the time inevitably will come—as it already has come to some areas of the world—when United States farm lands cannot produce enough for us and our descendants to eat and to wear.

The Soil Conservation Service has only been in existence since 1935. It was created by Congress in that year not so much as a result of the government's vision or strategy but principally because the people of this country had been struck with dread by the revulsion of nature against man that was evidenced by the Dust Bowl incident on May 12 of the previous year. On that day, it will be recalled, the sun was darkened from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic by vast clouds of soil particles borne by the wind from

the Great Plains lying in western Kansas, Texas, Oklahoma and eastern New Mexico and Colorado—once an area of fertile grasslands but now denuded by misuse, much of it to the point of permanent desolation. In the years since its inception this government service has gained extraordinary results in advancing the science of proper land use and in assisting soil conservation districts, set up under state law, and encouraging voluntary and co-operative action among farmers. These conservation districts now exist in all the states and have been the medium through which better methods of land use have been adopted in many of the farming regions. At best, however, this vital program—one of the most elemental that affects the lives of the people of our country—is only well started.

In a book published just before the war dealing with the world problem of erosion the authors state that the United States is more erosion-conscious than any other country and is organizing itself more effectively than other nations to cope with this danger. Compare this observation with the statements just quoted from one of the governmental departments that are attempting to combat this menace. Attempting to! We have barely made a start. Appropriations of the Federal Government towards conservation purposes of every nature—soils, forests, wildlife, water control, reclamation projects and others—are less than 1 per cent of our present national annual budget. While to this should be added moneys spent for conservation by individual states, yet the aggregate of governmental expenditures is but a fraction of what is needed to protect the basic elements of our nation's present and future strength.

It would be a grave error to think that the increasing emergency facing our country is one of easy solution. Soil erosion is only one factor in a disturbance of continental magnitude. It is the end-result of other conditions, both physical and economic, and even social and political.

In its physical aspects the battle to control soil erosion will not be won until we have reached the point of protecting our forests so that the annual drain upon them does not exceed their annual growth. A great part of the vast expenditure now being made in flood control will in the years to come be written off as dead loss unless the watersheds are protected both as to adequate forest cover and as to the curbing of erosion in the grasslands and croplands that lie within them. So far we have not come to the point of synchronized effort. Our flood-control engineers are not looking upstream. In the Rio Grande watershed in New Mexico, for example, flood control and river development plans are in the making that are estimated to cost more than $100,000,000, regardless of the need for the establishment of a contemporaneous plan for work upon the eroding and silt-producing lands of the abused watershed. This region has been referred to as "the doomed

valley, an example of regional suicide." There are other such critical points —too many. The assault on the public lands of the West, if successful, will breed more.

How about the valley of the greatest river of them all, the Mississippi, its bed so lifted, its waters so choked, so blocked with the wash of productive lands, that the river at flood crests runs high above the streets of New Orleans? As in historical times, the power of nature in revolt will one day overwhelm the bonds that even the most ingenious modern engineer can prepare. It should by now be clear that natural forces cannot be dealt with in this way. And, too, like echoes from the long past, there are discernible among the earlier causes that have brought the Rio Grande Valley to its present difficulties the age-long and disastrous conflicts between the herdsman and the agriculturist—echoes from the wasted lands of Asia Minor, of Palestine, of Greece and of Spain. Today the story has different overtones. The raids of the herdsmen of earlier times find their twentieth-century counterpart in the work of political pressure groups representing powerful livestock owners in the halls of Congress. Representatives of the lumber industry are there too, striving to effect arrangements so that the profits of their corporations may be assured and, if possible, increased. There is nothing unethical about all of this under the present scheme of things. For the moment it is the American way of doing business. Now, however, in the light of the provable facts, the use of our productive land and our renewable resources—forests, wildlife and waterways—must be directed solely to the benefit of all the people. Ethics, too, are involved. Under our present criminal code anyone who steals food from a groceryman's counter can be put in jail. His act hurts only the proprietor of the store. But if, for the benefit of his own pocketbook, the owner of timberlands at the head of a river strips the hills of their forests, the net result is that food is taken not from one "proprietor" but from all the "proprietors," or farm owners, down the valley, because the removal of forest cover on an upper watershed will inevitably damage the water supply in the valley below, even to the point of causing the complete drying-up of wells and springs. Countless thousands of landowners in America have in this very way been brought to bankruptcy. In the face of such things, how equitable are our present moral codes?

There is nothing revolutionary in the concept that renewable resources are the property of all the people and, therefore, that land use must be coordinated into an overall plan. This principle has been recognized in other democracies. In several countries in western Europe, for example, an individual owning forests can under no circumstances cut down a tree on his own property unless such cutting conforms with the principles of sound forest treatment as prescribed by the Forestry Department of his government. In

effect, private ownership of the country's resources is countenanced only if the use of such resources is directed towards the interests of the people as a whole.

The United States has, within the last decade, begun to move in this direction. The first step of co-ordinating land resources into a unified program found expression in the Tennessee Valley Authority created by Congress, after much heart searching, in 1933. This enterprise, conceived in accordance with the American slogan "When you do something, do it big," is an experiment in the unified planning and development of a great river valley and of its water and land resources. It directly affects the lives and fortunes of more than 3,000,000 people. Ably administered, it has, within the span of little more than a decade, justified itself not only as a social experiment but as an effort to harmonize human needs with the processes of nature. Above all, it provides an example from which lessons can be drawn for the solution of the problem that faces the entire country. The interdependence of all the elements in the creative machinery of nature points clearly to the fact that any program devised to meet the situation calls for a supreme co-ordinated nationwide effort. Many conditions are involved—social, financial, political, as well as physical. Such a program still is awaiting formulation.

The question remains. Are we to continue on the same dusty perilous road once traveled to its dead end by other mighty and splendid nations, or, in our wisdom, are we going to choose the only route that does not lead to the disaster that has already befallen so many other peoples of the earth?

STUART CHASE In darkest Middletown

WE NOW TURN to a series of anthropological reports on typical *American* communities. The material varies in its competence, but already there is enough to suggest many applications by city planners and social engineers.

In my library at home I have a "Middletown" shelf of a score of volumes, which I enjoy collecting as others acquire ship models. My collection started in 1929 when I reviewed Robert and Helen Lynd's *Middletown* and found it new and exciting territory. Later when writing a book on impressions of Mexico, I compared Middletown with Robert Redfield's study of Tepoztlan, an Aztec town on the Mexican plateau. This crosscultural survey of mine

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was strictly an amateur performance, but it did bring out some of the striking differences between machine age and handicraft societies.

Corn belt Middletown

Clark Wissler wrote the introduction for the original *Middletown*. "We are always hearing," he said, "that the study of society must be made objective . . . the realities of social science are what people do." Here then, for the first time, is a study of practically all the things people do in a normal American town, observed as anthropologists would observe a town in darkest Africa, or in Polynesia. There had been plenty of local surveys made previously in America and Britain, but they were primarily concerned with coal miners or working girls; or with wages, housing, cost of living.[1] The Lynds tried to comprehend the whole community. "A new field of science has been opened up," said Dr. Wissler, "the social anthropology of contemporary life."

There were 38,000 people in Middletown—which everybody now knows is Muncie, Indiana—when the Lynds arrived with their small staff in 1924. The great boom of the 1920's was fairly launched, buoyed up by the soaring automotive industries. Middletown has been chosen among many candidates because it was as American as a baked apple. Manufacturing was diversified, with the glass jar business prominent. Farmers came in from the rich surrounding corn lands to Saturday market at the county seat.

There were 42 churches in town and 6,300 automobiles. Said a factory worker from the South Side: "I'd go without a meal before I'd cut down on using the car." Said a police court judge after a hard day: "The automobile has become a house of prostitution on wheels."

The Lynds stayed for nearly two years, studying the town in action under six main headings: (1) getting a living, (2) making a home, (3) training the young, (4) using leisure, (5) going to church, (6) joining up. Before they got through, 454 active clubs and associations had been identified, including, along with the Chamber of Commerce, the Lions and Elks—an Ad Club, a Kill Kare Klub, and the Sew We Do Club for upper-class matrons. As the old-fashioned home disintegrates under machine age pressures, people try to find a substitute by joining something.

The Lynds gathered material by firsthand interviews and observation, by questionnaire, by analyzing newspapers, by direct counting. They also obtained all relevant US census figures covering the town, together with state and city statistics. (Since 1924, some interesting new techniques have been added.)

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[1] Famous pre-Middletown studies were *Life and Labor of the People in London*, by the Booths, and the *Pittsburgh Survey* of the Russell Sage Foundation.

Many of their observations hold good for other communities because of the standard culture now covering America. When we finish reading the section on getting a living, for instance, we know as we never knew before the economy of the 1920's. We realize in an intimate, graphic way, just how the boys and girls that we see playing in the school yards of Middletown are to be indiscriminately tumbled into the 400 occupations which the city affords. We see the shops, offices, factories in which they are to work; the houses, bungalows, and shacks in which they are to live and raise their families; the stores in which they will buy their goods; the advertisements which will so often determine their wants; the editorials, sermons, service club speeches which will nourish their belief systems; the income groups into which they are bound to fall with the precision of a life expectancy table.

In the nineties

The Middletown findings, moreover, compare the twenties with the nineties. Wissler calls it "a new kind of history." The authors try to reconstruct the scene a generation earlier. "A small river wanders through the town, and in 1890 when timber still stood on its banks, it was a pleasant stream for picnics, fishing and boating, but it has shrunk today to a creek discolored by industrial chemicals and malodorous with the city's sewage."

Workingmen in 1924 still attend lyceums and listen to some of the old lecture topics—"Milton as an Educator"—but businessmen have given up this type of "culture" altogether. The singing societies of the nineties have disappeared, save for one working class exception. The Apollo Club, once favored by the bloods of the town, has long since collapsed. Where are 300 schoolboys to sing Gounod in the Opera House? The Art Students' League was organized in 1892, and members went sketching along the clear waters of White River. The Art Club of 1925 listens to lectures on the Gothic Period and never handles a brush or tube of paint. Music, like poetry and the other arts, is almost nonexistent among the men of Middletown in the era of Calvin Coolidge. In the light of Linton's universals this shows how abnormal Main Street has become.

Everyone rides in a car, goes to the movies; more and more people are turning on the radio. One salty old character came back to Middletown for a brief visit in 1924. "These people," he complained, "are afraid of something." The Lynds point out that amid an ideology celebrating the ruggedest kind of rugged individualism, nobody along Main Street dared to be different. Again and again the word "bewilderment" creeps into the text. Citizens are bewildered about their jobs, about money, about the new gob feeder which can make glass bottles a hundred times faster than a hand blower, about marriage, about religion, about the growing role of government, about their children, about their very souls.

The old traditions survive—many doubtless survive in 1948 for that matter—but even in the twenties there is little blood in them. A pecuniary economy and mass production cry for new systems of belief, but these have not yet crystallized. The lag grows longer. Back of the Buicks and the backslapping, one feels the bewilderment of a generation which has lost its way.

The big bust

The Lynds went back to Middletown to check their findings after ten years had gone by—four more years of boom, then six of bust. They wrote another book about it called *Middletown in Transition.* Today, with 60 million jobs, it is almost incredible to recall how far we dropped in the depression. Storekeepers in 1933 had lost 57 percent of their business compared with 1929—yet there were 6 percent more stores struggling to survive! Building construction fell to 5 percent. Factory payrolls were cut in half. Motor car sales dropped 78 percent, but gasoline sales only 4 percent. The cars were old, but people kept on driving them to God knows where. Loan sharks opened their offices everywhere. When General Motors tore the machinery out of their big plant and left town, it looked as though the end had come. A full quarter of the population was on relief.

Yet for two years following the crash, Middletown sturdily refused to admit that its symbols of progress—self-help, bigger and better motor cars, bank accounts, land values—could ever go into reverse. Not until General Motors shut its plant did the leaders of the town face reality, and then only for a brief interval. Soon the first AAA checks, like gentle rain on a parched prairie, began to irrigate the Saturday market as farmers drove in to cash them. Whereupon Middletown snapped back to its belief systems. . . . When Mr. Landon was elected president—and the *Literary Digest* poll showed he was sure to be—everything would be safe and sound again.

Across the tracks on the South Side, however, the workers have pretty well abandoned 1928, and are organizing unions as never before. The great sit-down strike era is close at hand, and we must remember that for every three townsmen on Main Street, there are seven workers on the South Side.

The Middletown credo

In a chapter entitled "The Middletown Spirit," the Lynds preserve for the curious historian the credo of 1928. No fewer than 172 beliefs are categorically listed. After the AAA checks and the federal insurance of bank deposits came in and business began to revive, the credo was reinstated in toto. As I scan the list today, I should estimate that about 100 of these beliefs have been rendered obsolete in whole or in part by the march of events. Some, of course, were obsolete even when most fiercely held. Here is a sample lot:

That economic conditions are the result of natural order and cannot be changed by man-made laws.

That we've always had depressions and always will.

That men won't work unless they have to.

That any man willing to work can get a job.

That business makes all our employment.

That the open shop is the American way, the labor unions are foolish, if not wicked.

That all strikes are due to troublemakers.

That the individual must fend for himself and in the end gets what he deserves.

That the small businessman is the backbone of America.

That women cannot be expected to understand public problems.

That the American form of government is the final and ideal form.

That government is bad and that politicians are the lowest form of life.

That high tariffs mean protection to the American wage earner against the pauper labor of Europe.

That taxes are always evil.

That Christianity is the final form of religion.

That preachers are rather impractical people who wouldn't be likely to make good in business.

That you can't change human nature.

What happened to Middletown after 1929 defied almost every canon of this credo. It was as though the sun should begin to move from west to east. Main Street deplored federal aids for community survival and ridiculed them in a vast folk literature of stories about boondoggling. At the same time it clawed like a drowning man for more federal relief, and more and more. Its belief systems were thus at cross-purposes with its tangible behavior—creating a kind of community schizophrenia.

So Middletown has learned nothing from the world war, a crazy boom, and a depression which made beggars of a quarter of its people? No, it is not so simple as that. Middletown, like every community, must have a suit of symbolic clothes. If no new styles are on the market the old will have to do. Middletown—at least the North Side—still wears the ancient garments, but the simple faith has gone, the unquestioning acceptance of earlier days. Below the surface, Middletown is in profound turmoil and transition.

Plainville, U.S.A.

Running along the shelf, let us pick out *Plainville, USA*, by James West, for a brief glance. The author, an anthropologist, knew exactly the kind of town he wanted to study. After a long search he found a rural community of under 1,000 people in the Midwest which fitted his specifications. He made the analysis alone, between June 1939 and August 1941, as part of a

larger study on acculturation, financed by Columbia and directed by Ralph Linton.

Plainville is a far less complicated community than Middletown. There are no factories, and marginal farming is the principal way to make a living. Yet the same contradiction is to be found out here on the prairies as along the Wabash. *People do not believe in what they are in fact doing.* During the great depression Plainville shifted from an individualistic to a welfare economy—it had to or starve—but almost nobody approves of it. Charity and relief have become functions of the federal government, except for a little private charity still carried on by one church. All the federal agencies are utilized to the fullest extent, yet they are denounced constantly for "ruining this country," "making people unwilling to work," "meddling with other people's business . . ."

A whole new form of rural social organization has been instituted under the government's agricultural program—the AAA, FSA, soil conservation work, farm credit, rural electrification, government promoted cooperatives, and the rest. The older system of farm technology, social aims, and personal security is disintegrating, but reaction to the new pattern is turbulent. Nowhere have I seen this agricultural revolution which has struck America since 1933 so vividly described.

Mr. West's working methods are interesting. He made the rounds of "several notable loafing centers," collected gossip and news at every opportunity, attended church bazaars, basket dinners, funerals, baseball games, pie suppers, public auctions, Saturday "drawings." He taught in the high school when a teacher was sick, and joined a number of clubs and organizations. Afternoon and evening were often spent in interviews. These varied from a total of two hours to several hundred hours per person. He took life histories of eight adults, ranging from 30,000 to 75,000 words each. He hired high school students to record their "autobiographies," some running to 50,000 words, under the general style of "I Remember."

He ransacked the county courthouse records, and those of the AAA, FSA, and Social Security Board, and combed files of the weekly newspaper back to 1885. He read genealogies and the *History of Woodland County.* He sums up this material with the surprising statement: "For even in an isolated community like Plainville, there exists so vast a body of relevant printed and other documentary material, that no one could read it all in a lifetime."

Deep South

Next to *Plainville* on the shelf is *Deep South.* Four anthropologists, trained at Harvard, lived for a year and a half in the 1920's in a southern city of 10,000, studying its culture. More than 5,000 pages of typewritten

notes form the basis for the book, together with statistical records of the town and the surrounding countryside. The investigators were two married couples, one white, one Negro, and so had unparalleled opportunity to check events from both sides of the color line.

Quite apart from the social science involved, *Deep South* gives us a memorable picture of the plantation system, both before and after the Civil War. We are shown the romantic memories, the jasmine against white columns, as preserved in the belief systems of the upper class, and also the tangible facts of history and sociology.

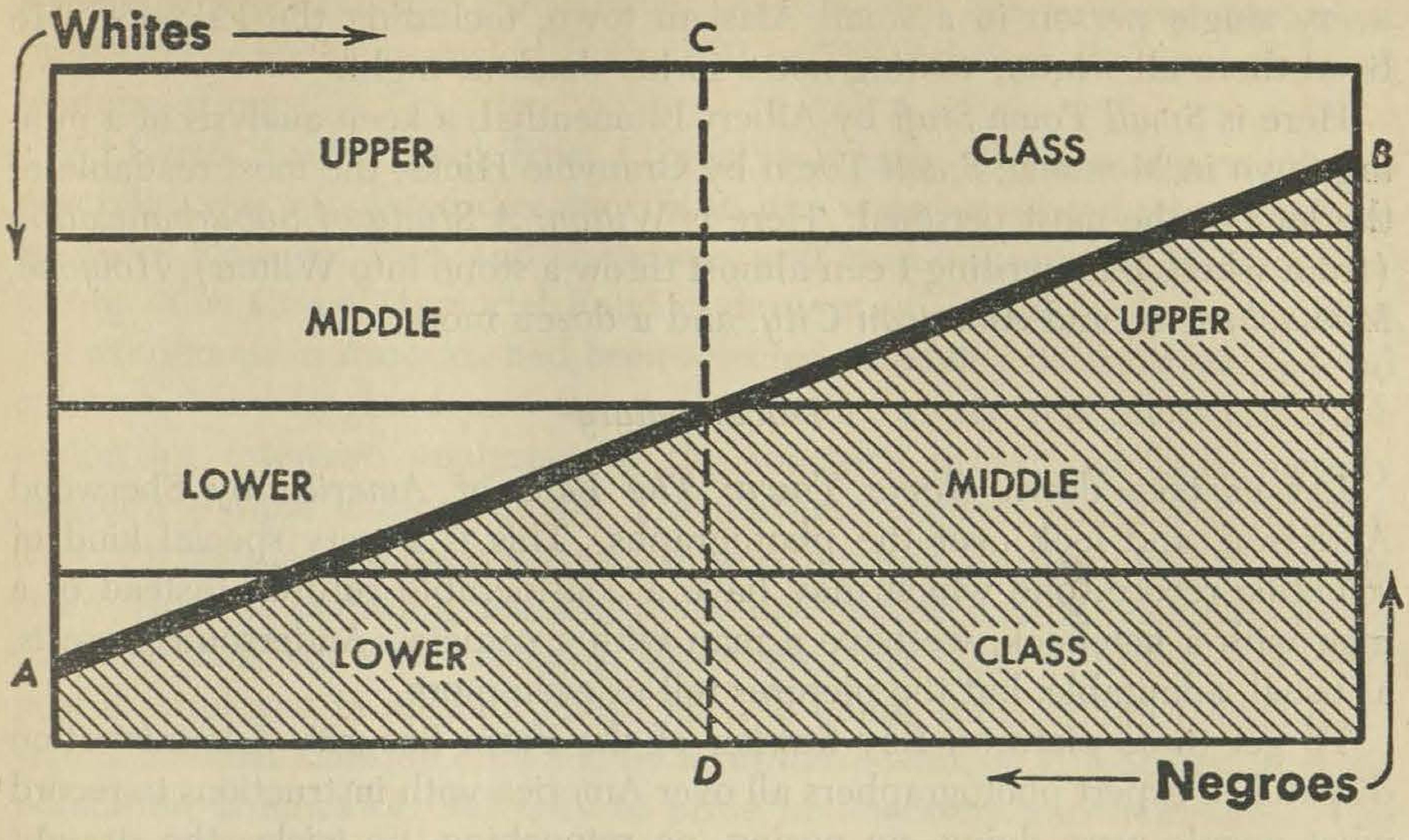
> Ruth and Josephine took up the fight and went back generations telling each other things about their families, digging up things that nobody wants to hear about. That is the way people do here. If they once get mad with you, they don't just be mad with you—they go back as far as they can—telling stories on each other's ancestors.

The greatest insult possible in "Old City" is to defame one's "original ancestor," the cotton planter who founded the family. No attention is paid to *his* forbears—they can be burglars or pirates—it does not matter. The whole belief system of the upper class is centered about the year 1840. Nothing since then amounts to much. Naturally this emphasis affects all the town's behavior—ten thousand people walking slowly backward. "A very old woman may be said to be a symbol of the upper class group. . . . The ritual and deference surrounding her attendance at a group gathering—generally limited by her great age to afternoon tea—is suggestive of royalty." She is the cherished link with the past, the closest living symbol of "the old days."

In the old days the planter aristocracy was recognized as superior to all white freemen, who in turn were infinitely superior to all black slaves. This pattern was destroyed in the Civil War, but after some floundering in the dark days of reconstruction, "a new social system in Old City and its countryside began to evolve. It, too, organized the relation of Negroes and whites among themselves and with each other." It divided the occupations carefully, too, Negroes getting the more unpleasant tasks.

Class and caste

But a curious and interesting change is now taking place. Nobody should write seriously about race relations in America without mastering this change, for it extends throughout the deep South. The investigators call it the emergence of a *class and caste system.* Educated Negroes, such as doctors and professional people, "recognize themselves and *are recognized* as being different from the laborers and domestics who now work for both whites and Negroes." The following diagram helps to visualize the system:



The line AB is the caste line, dividing Negroes from the white. No Negro may ever marry a white person. Other rules may be broken, this one never. One cannot marry across a caste system by definition; children cannot be legitimatized across it.

But on the Negro side of the line, as well as on the white, classes form—upper, middle, and lower. The white middle class has standards similar to the Negro upper class; the white lower to the Negro middle class. People can marry across *class lines*, and can move up and down across the lines. It is not easy or frequent, but it does happen. This mobility is what distinguishes a class from a caste system.

Before the Civil War the line AB was not skewed but *horizontal;* there were no Negro professional people, no Negro upper class. Slaves were in the subcellar, considered a different species altogether. Will the line AB continue to revolve until it approximates CD? Then the races would be truly equal, though still separate. If they should ever cross this barrier, there would be no more caste system in Old City.

Other Middletowns

There are many more books on the shelf. Here is *Preface to Peasantry*, a study of two Black Belt counties by Professor Arthur F. Raper, particularly interesting for its description of how the New Deal came to darkest Georgia. To jump 5,000 miles north, here is *Arctic Village* by the late Robert Marshall. By profession a forester, Mr. Marshall determined IQ's and other data about

every single person in a small Alaskan town, including the Eskimos. He lived there all winter, writing notes in his shack at night.

Here is *Small Town Stuff* by Albert Blumenthal, a keen analysis of a mining town in Montana; *Small Town* by Granville Hicks, the most readable of the lot but the most personal. Here is *Wilton: A Study of Suburbanization* (from where I am writing I can almost throw a stone into Wilton); *Holyoke, Massachusetts*, and *American City*, and a dozen more.

Documentary

Let us take down *Home Town: The Face of America* by Sherwood Anderson, and look over the photographs. This is a very special kind of scientific record, one which may have a considerable future. Instead of a man with a notebook, we have a man with a camera. Anderson's prose is, as usual, admirable, but the pictures tell us even more.

To get these pictures, Roy Stryker of the Farm Security Administration dispatched expert photographers all over America with instructions to record what people were doing—no posing, no retouching, no tricks; the straight documentary story. More than 35,000 negatives were collected. *Home Town*, accordingly, is not an account of a specific community, but a generalized picture of small-town life in the 1930's—Main Street, the Methodist Church, Town Meeting, Back of the Tracks, the Civil War Monument, the Church Supper, the Drug Store, One Room School, Front Porch, Saloon, Movie House, Shacktown, Poker Game, Filling Station, Service Club Lunch, Revival Meeting, Town Constable . . .

We have in this Stryker collection a kind of visual sampling report—telling more, in one way, than any table of figures. . . . Cornfields in Iowa to make a farmer's mouth water, dust and drought to dry anybody's throat, pictures of sunny rural peace, terrible pictures of rural poverty. The weathered faces of men, the faces of women sagging with household drudgery, the pinched faces of children, the cow barn, the farmer's tools, the sharecroppers' rags—"they are all here, photographed in their context, in relation to their environment. In rows of filing cabinets they wait for today's town planner and tomorrow's historian."

Here is *Chan Kom*, a Maya village in Yucatán, superbly directed by Robert Redfield—but more a study in primitive anthropology than a regular Middletown.

Yankee City

So we come to the four published volumes (with two more to come) of the Yankee City series—the Middletown to end all Middletowns. It is the most ambitious, the costliest, most searching and technical of them all. Only time

will tell whether it is also the soundest contribution. Thirty scientists worked on it over a five-year period from 1930 to 1934—though they were not all working at once.

W. Lloyd Warner, back from a three-year study of Stone Age peoples in Australia, was appointed director. With him were associated scientists from Harvard, Chicago, Yale, and elsewhere, and Paul S. Lunt was his first lieutenant. The Crane Memorial Fund underwrote the study.

Two regions in America had been selected as having the most stable local cultures—New England and the deep South. A city was chosen in each region for intensive analysis. Of the southern project we have already caught a glimpse in *Deep South*. The northern one was far more ambitious. The city chosen was once a great clipper-ship port at the mouth of a large river. Now its seafaring activities have declined to a little clamming along the mud flats, but shoe factories, silverware, and other industries keep the people employed in normal times. The old China trade families, each in its stately colonial mansion crowned by a captain's walk on Hill Street, rival the plantation families of Old City in pride of ancestors and heirlooms. The whole town, on the rising ground above the river, displays an architecture more gracious than America has built for a hundred years. (Architecture is one of the most significant elements in any culture.)

When the social scientists moved in, there were 17,000 men, women, and children in Yankee City. When they moved out, they carried Hollerith machine punch cards for every one of them, with notations showing age, sex, status, occupation, clubs, religion, political affiliation, housing, health, income, expenditures, property owned, education, magazines read—and Heaven knows what. By running the cards through a machine, they could classify everyone in town in every conceivable manner. No community of this size ever had such a going over.

The research staff was particularly interested in the class structure of Yankee City—who outranked whom?—in the family structure, the factory system, ethnic groups like the Irish, Jews, Poles, French Canadians, Negroes; in housing, property rights, sources of income, clubs and cliques, churches, schools, and the political framework of the town. . . . It is all there, in staggering detail. They devoted a whole volume to an elaborate theory of "positional analysis," whereby the status of anyone in town can be mathematically determined in relation to anyone else.

True story

In the middle of Volume I, the summary of the Yankee City survey, we find a novel experiment in social science. Here are a dozen very human short stories, more or less in the *New Yorker* manner. Each is a true story, right

from the punch cards and the notebooks, with fictitious names, of course. One of them begins like this:

> Mr. Charles Watson, the superintendent of the cemetery, squatted on his haunches while he supervised the pick-and-shovel activities of two workmen. It was hot. . . . A shoveler stopped his work and lit a cigaret. "Why the hell can't Phil Starr leave his old man and old lady rest in peace? Why they've been down in this grave thirty years. And now, by God, he's digging them up and running all over town with them. I say once they're buried, let them stay buried."

And another:

> Going home after he had said goodnight, Sam Jones crawled in bed beside his wife, and the springs sank in the middle. Three small children were asleep on a mattress in the corner of the room. Two adolescent daughters slept on cots next to the wood stove in the kitchen. . . . It had suddenly turned bitter cold. The kitchen table was still littered with the remains of the evening meal.

These stories have an effect like the photographs in *Small Town:* they tell about people in a vivid human way, and so offset the cold tables and the graphs.

The six classes

The research staff had not been long in town before a cherished hypothesis was upset. They began their labors believing that the fundamental structure of American society was *economic*—rich on top, poor on the bottom—and that the richer you were the more prestige you had. But evidence began to accumulate which made it difficult to accept this simple thesis. Six classes were finally identified by the people of the town themselves. "She's one of those Hill Street snobs. . . ." "He runs around with the Riverbrook gang. . . ." There were borderline cases, of course, but after thousands of interviews, nearly everyone in town was placed in one of six classes as follows:

1. Upper upper
2. Lower upper
3. Upper middle
4. Lower middle
5. Upper lower
6. Lower lower

It was found that the rich were not necessarily on top, nor the poor necessarily on the bottom. The richest class was the lower upper, while some of the old families in the upper upper class were poor as church mice. Also it was interesting to note that many of the clammers in the lower lower class, who lived in shacks along the river, were descended from the same Anglo-Saxon forebears as the great folk on Hill Street. When fate beckoned they had preferred clammin' to smuggling.

This, observe, was a class system, not a caste system. Observe, too, that

it bore little relation to the Marxist "class struggle." People moved up and down from class to class, but mostly up; and occasionally they married across class lines. The upper uppers were without exception old Yankee stock, but the Irish were breaking into the lower upper, Jews and Italians into the upper middle. It is an exhilarating sight to see steerage immigrants from the old country land first in the lower lower, and then ascend as in a slow elevator, class by class, while a misfit from Hill Street flashes by them on his way to the bottom.

Middletown as social science

Granted that my Middletown shelf holds some of the wisest and best documented information about contemporary American communities, is it social $science_1$ or social $science_2$?[1] Is it a development of fresh theory or application of theory already developed? Does it add anything of lasting value to the storehouse? Better judges than your author will have to give the final answer. But as a roving critic and collector who makes a hobby of Middletowns, I am prepared to say this:

1. The really intensive studies, beginning with those of the Lynds, are based solidly on such theory and universals of human behavior as the cultural anthropologists have developed to date. They are keyed in to the culture concept and so are applications of social $science_1$.

2. Despite this, I have a feeling as I pursue my hobby that more theory is needed for contemporary studies in machine age cultures, and also better techniques. I feel that we ought to get more per manhour expended.

3. The information already available, however, in these books and monographs cannot fail, as Wissler said, to be helpful to all who direct the affairs of American towns—mayors, selectmen, city managers, chiefs of police, welfare commissioners, housing authorities, city planners, social workers, police court judges, traffic officials, school boards.

Do the officials know about this development of social science? They do not. Most city fathers have never heard of the Middletowns; I have asked them repeatedly. So I should like to propose a further research project. Let a competent group of social scientists be financed to assemble all the Middletowns so far recorded, to compare them carefully and find the com-

[1] In "Varieties of Social Science," Chapter 4 of *The Proper Study of Mankind*, Mr. Chase says: "Few words have one exact definition: meaning shifts with the context. $Scientist_1$ can refer to a person who practices the scientific method . . . $scientist_2$ can refer to a person who likes to think seriously about human problems. The former attempts to add verifiable knowledge to the storehouse; the latter is content to *speculate* about human relations, frame hypotheses from time to time, but leave the proof to others."

mon denominators, together with outstanding conclusions. Let a clear, brief book be written, called *Manual for City Managers*, summarizing the study, and sold for a reasonable figure, and widely advertised.

The Middletowns have given us the essential structure of American communities, large and small, North and South, East and West—though no big city has yet been studied. Such a mayor as Wilson Wyatt of Louisville would be enormously instructed by a handbook covering the Middletown universals. There would be answers, complete or partial, to such questions as:

What are my people like?

What will my community do under stress?

What can I always count on?

How can I make changes with the least popular resentment?

What are the strongest systems of belief, to be carefully respected?

The individual and the state

THE passages in this section deal with a problem that began when men first agreed to surrender certain of their personal liberties for the sake of mutual protection and betterment. It is the problem of the state and its relation to the individual citizen. The section begins with the personal discovery made by Fiorello H. La Guardia, who was a congressman, later a mayor of New York City, and still later an administrator of postwar relief overseas. He tells in his account how he first became aware of the importance of the state even to a boy living in an army post in Arizona. The selections which follow range from the distant past to the present. Needless to say, these selections (by an early Hebrew, a Greek philosopher who lived several centuries before the time of Christ, and two twentieth-century Americans) present widely varying points of view. Additional selections that deal with the problem of this section include: "The Stagecoach," page 19; "The Declaration of Independence," page 45; "Why an MVA?" page 58; "The Second Inaugural Address," page 82; "Democracy Is Not Dying," page 79.

FIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA

My first encounters with politics

A personal discovery

WHAT I SAW and heard and learned in my boyhood days in Arizona made lasting impressions on me. Many of the things on which I have such strong feelings—feelings which some of my opponents have regarded as unreasonable obsessions—were first impressed on my mind during those early days, and the knowledge I acquired then never left me. On some of those things I believe I am so right in my attitude that I remain uncompromising.

For instance, there is the professional politician. Though I have been in politics for well over forty years, I loathe the professional politician. I have never been a regular. I have fought political machines and party politics at every opportunity. This attitude had its origin in the loudly dressed, slick

From *The Making of an Insurgent* by Fiorello H. La Guardia. Copyright 1948, by J. B. Lippincott Company. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

and sly Indian agents, political appointees, I saw come into Arizona. The first time I ever heard the word politician was at Fort Huachuca, when I was still a small child. The word was applied to those Indian agents. I learned afterwards that they got the jobs because they were small-fry ward heelers. I saw hungry Indians, and the little Indian kids watched us while we munched a Kansas apple or ate a cookie Mother baked. I knew, even as a child, that the government in Washington provided food for all those Indians, but that the "politicians" sold the rations to miners and even to general stores, robbing the Indians of the food the government provided for them. That was my first contact with "politicians."

I had my first experience with a lobby when I was about twelve. My father received a letter from someone in Washington stating that the pay of band leaders could be increased to $100 a month. The pay was then $60 a month. The letter also stated that band leaders could become commissioned officers. I can see the gleam in Dad's eye to this day as he fancied himself adorned with shoulder straps. It all seemed so easy; just sign the agreement to pay one month's salary when the bill became the law, and no further obligation except to send $50 for necessary expenses.

Even as a kid I could not understand this. Why the expenses? There were hints in the letter that it was necessary to see certain Representatives and Senators, and that there were disbursements to be met. It was rather crude. But this technique of the 'nineties didn't differ so much from the technique of our own 'forties. I don't know why, but I felt instinctively that it was wrong. And Mother was on my side. I figured it out that if the men in the various regiments at our post sent in this money, it would amount to $2,250. That was a lot of money in those days. "It's a fake, a swindle," I shouted, and when I ran out of adjectives in denouncing the scheme to my father, I resorted to what to me has always been the most odious thing you could say about people: "They're a bunch of politicians." Father, a musician, who never bothered with politics, was soon talked out of joining the plan. The band leaders of the Army are still waiting for those shoulder straps some of them sent their money to get. . . .

. . . It was during my boyhood in Arizona that I first learned about corrupt local government, and I got my political education from Pulitzer's New York *World*. We had two newspapers in Prescott, the *Journal Miner* and the Prescott *Courier*. These were typical Bret Harte Western newspapers, devoted mostly to local news. When the Sunday edition of the New York *World* arrived in Prescott on the following Friday or Saturday, I would rush to Ross's drugstore where it was on display. There I had looked at the first funny sections I had ever seen, featuring the Yellow Kid. From that comic strip came the expression "yellow journalism." I have enjoyed the comics ever since.

When I got home with the Sunday *World*, I would carefully read every word of the *World's* fight against the corrupt Tammany machine in New York. That was the period of the lurid disclosures made by the Lexow investigation of corruption in the Police Department that extended throughout the political structure of the city. The papers then were filled with stories of startling crookedness on the part of the police and the politicians in New York. Unlike boys who grew up in the city and who hear from childhood about such things as graft and corruption, the amazing disclosures hit me like a shock. I could not understand how the people of the greatest city in the country could put up with the vice and crime that existed there. A resentment against Tammany was created in me at that time, which I admit is to this day almost an obsession. But I did not become cynical or lose faith in government. I was certain that good people could eliminate bad people from public office. But as I grew older, my hatred of corrupt politicians and my feeling against dishonest and inefficient government increased with the years in proportion with my experience of it.

When I went to live in New York again after my return from Europe in 1906, Tammany was once more all-powerful. It was the era of "honest graft." When I had to choose a political party, my choice was easy. I joined the Republican Party. I was young and innocent. A party in the minority cannot help being good and pure. That seemed the only avenue I could choose at the time in order to carry out my boyhood dreams of going to work against corrupt government.

There was, of course, great excitement at Whipple Barracks in Prescott when the news reached us that the U. S. battleship *Maine* had been blown up in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, on the fifteenth of February 1898. The Postal Telegraph operator in Prescott pasted up Associated Press bulletins on the *Maine* disaster as soon as they came in, and along with the other children of Army men, as well as the parents, I watched and waited eagerly for the latest news. We expected war momentarily, especially after the news came that two hundred and fifty American lives had been lost.

Within about ten days, orders came for our regiment to get itself ready for war. Inventories were taken. The equipment of some other regiments and of National Guard units was not up to date, but our regiment had the modern Krag-Jörgensen rifles. Some of our noncommissioned officers had seen service in the Civil War.

As the weeks passed and there was still no declaration of war, there was a feeling in our military circles that President McKinley was hesitating too long. But it finally came on April twenty-fifth, and our regiment was soon sent to Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis, Missouri. It remained there for a few days and then went into camp at Mobile, Alabama, but the families of the officers and enlisted men remained in quarters at Jefferson Barracks.

Though I was only fifteen years old, I was restless and wanted to join the Army. My age, and the fact that I was short and under the required weight, made that impossible. But I persuaded the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* to pay my fare to the camp at Mobile where my father was stationed. I did a couple of articles for the *Post-Dispatch* from the camp.

As an Army child I was familiar with drill and other training courses. I noticed at that time that it was very difficult to train Army officers quickly, though it was easy to train a large body of men in a hurry once you had the officers to do the job. This knowledge was very useful to me later when I was a legislator, and particularly when I became a member of the House Committee on Military Affairs. I also noticed at that time that the Medical Corps was both inefficient and unsufficient in the Spanish-American War. During the first world war the Medical Corps brought its technique and efficiency almost to perfection. In the second world war it surpassed anything that had been attained previously in this and, perhaps, in any other country. But the government's record as a whole during the Spanish-American War was not up to the heroism of our men who took part in that war.

My particular Spanish-American War hero was "Bucky" O'Neil. I remember that he came to our school soon after the declaration of war and told us what that declaration meant, and what war meant. He expressed the opinion that when we won this war, no other nation would ever again attempt to dominate territory in the Western Hemisphere. When Arizona provided a troop for Colonel Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders, "Bucky" O'Neil became a member of that troop. I felt he should have commanded it. He was killed in action during the famous charge on San Juan Hill.

One of the worst scandals of our entire military history occurred during this short Spanish-American War and made a lasting impression upon me, for my father was one of its victims. Corrupt contractors supplied the Army with diseased beef. My father became so ill as a result of eating some of this diseased beef that he had to be discharged from the service on account of disability. Though we did not know it then, he had only a few years to live because of the work of crooked Army contractors.

That experience never left my mind. When I became a Congressman during World War I, the first measure I introduced in the House was a bill providing the death penalty for contractors who supplied defective food or other supplies and equipment in time of war, and a heavy jail sentence, if they sold such stuff in time of peace. I introduced that measure on April 3, 1917, a few days before Congress declared war on Germany. It was referred to the Committee on Judiciary, where it was allowed to languish. But I still think it is a good idea. It might prevent other families from losing their fathers.

After Father's discharge from the Army, our family returned to New York City, where we renewed old acquaintances. Then the family went to Trieste, to live with my mother's family. It was while we were in Trieste that my father died in 1901, a victim of condemned Army meat.

Ancient concepts

THE BIBLE Selections from Exodus

In these chapters the ancient scribe outlines the more general regulations ordained by God for the conduct of the Israelites. Though bound by the fairly rigid code of the patriarchal system, the people still recognize God as the ultimate power in their government. That they do not necessarily act according to His desires is abundantly evident.

IN THE THIRD MONTH, when the children of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day came they into the wilderness of Sinai.

For they were departed from Rephidim, and were come to the desert of Sinai, and had pitched in the wilderness; and there Israel camped before the mount.

And Moses went up unto God, and the Lord called unto him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel;

Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself.

Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people: for all the earth is mine:

And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation. These are the words which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel.

And Moses came and called for the elders of the people, and laid before their faces all these words which the Lord commanded him.

And all the people answered together, and said, All that the Lord hath spoken we will do. And Moses returned the words of the people unto the Lord.

And the Lord said unto Moses, Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that

the people may hear when I speak with thee, and believe thee for ever. And Moses told the words of the people unto the Lord.

And the Lord said unto Moses, Go unto the people, and sanctify them to day and to morrow, and let them wash their clothes.

And be ready against the third day: for the third day the Lord will come down in the sight of all the people upon mount Sinai.

And thou shalt set bounds unto the people round about, saying, Take heed to yourselves, that ye go not up into the mount, or touch the border of it: whosoever toucheth the mount shall be surely put to death:

There shall not an hand touch it, but he shall surely be stoned, or shot through; whether it be beast or man, it shall not live: when the trumpet soundeth long, they shall come up to the mount.

And Moses went down from the mount unto the people, and sanctified the people; and they washed their clothes.

And he said unto the people, Be ready against the third day: come not at your wives.

And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that was in the camp trembled.

And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God; and they stood at the nether part of the mount.

And mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly.

And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice.

And the Lord came down upon mount Sinai, on the top of the mount: and the Lord called Moses up to the top of the mount; and Moses went up.

And the Lord said unto Moses, Go down, charge the people, lest they break through unto the Lord to gaze, and many of them perish.

And let the priests also, which come near to the Lord, sanctify themselves, lest the Lord break forth upon them.

And Moses said unto the Lord, The people cannot come up to mount Sinai: for thou chargedst us, saying, Set bounds about the mount, and sanctify it.

And the Lord said unto him, Away, get thee down, and thou shalt come up, thou, and Aaron with thee: but let not the priests and the people break through to come up unto the Lord, lest he break forth upon them.

So Moses went down unto the people, and spake unto them.—Exodus 19

And God spake all these words, saying,

I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth:

Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me;

And shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy.

Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work:

But the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates:

For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.

Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

Thou shalt not kill.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

Thou shalt not steal.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.

And all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking: and when the people saw it, they removed, and stood afar off.

And they said unto Moses, Speak thou with us, and we will hear: but let not God speak with us, lest we die.

And Moses said unto the people, Fear not: for God is come to prove you, and that his fear may be before your faces, that ye sin not.

And the people stood afar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was.—Exodus 20:1-21

And when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down out of the mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, Up, make us gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.

And Aaron said unto them, Break off the golden earrings, which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters, and bring them unto me.

And all the people brake off the golden earrings which were in their ears, and brought them unto Aaron.

And he received them at their hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, after he had made it a molten calf: and they said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.

And when Aaron saw it, he built an altar before it; and Aaron made proclamation, and said, To morrow is a feast to the Lord.

And they rose up early on the morrow, and offered burnt offerings, and brought peace offerings; and the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.

And the Lord said unto Moses, Go, get thee down: for thy people, which thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves:

They have turned aside quickly out of the way which I commanded them: they have made them a molten calf, and have worshipped it, and have sacrificed thereunto, and said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which have brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.

And the Lord said unto Moses, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people:

Now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them: and I will make of thee a great nation.

And Moses besought the Lord his God, and said, Lord why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt with great power, and with a mighty hand?

Wherefore should the Egyptians speak, and say, For mischief did he bring them out, to slay them in the mountains, and to consume them from the face of the earth? Turn from thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against thy people.

Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants, to whom thou swarest by thine own self, and saidst unto them, I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have spoken of will I give unto your seed, and they shall inherit it for ever.

And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people.

And Moses turned, and went down from the mount, and the two tables of

the testimony were in his hand: the tables were written on both their sides; on the one side and on the other were they written.

And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables.

And when Joshua heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said unto Moses, There is a noise of war in the camp.

And he said, It is not the voice of them that shout for mastery, neither is it the voice of them that cry for being overcome: but the noise of them that sing do I hear.

And it came to pass, as soon as he came nigh unto the camp, that he saw the calf, and the dancing: and Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hands, and brake them beneath the mount.

And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and strawed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it.

And Moses said unto Aaron, What did this people unto thee, that thou hast brought so great a sin upon them?

And Aaron said, Let not the anger of my lord wax hot: thou knowest the people, that they are set on mischief.

For they said unto me, Make us gods, which shall go before us: for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.

And I said unto them, Whosoever hath any gold, let them break it off. So they gave it me: then I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf.

And when Moses saw that the people were naked; (for Aaron had made them naked unto their shame among their enemies:)

Then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said, Who is on the Lord's side? let him come unto me. And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him.

And he said unto them, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Put every man his sword by his side, and go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour.

And the children of Levi did according to the word of Moses: and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men.

For Moses had said, Consecrate yourselves to day to the Lord, even every man upon his son and upon his brother; that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day.

And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses said unto the people, Ye have sinned a great sin: and now I will go up unto the Lord; peradventure I shall make an atonement for your sin.

And Moses returned unto the Lord, and said, Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold.

Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.

And the Lord said unto Moses, Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book.

Therefore now go, lead the people unto the place of which I have spoken unto thee: behold, mine Angel shall go before thee: nevertheless in the day when I visit I will visit their sin upon them.

And the Lord plagued the people, because they made the calf, which Aaron made.—Exodus 32

PLATO Crito

Plato was a pupil of Socrates from 407 B.C. until the latter's death in 399. In this dialogue Plato relates what presumably was the final attitude of Socrates upon the subject of the state. Socrates has been condemned to death by the Athenians for subversive teaching. His friend Crito visits him in prison.

SOCRATES. Why have you come at this hour, Crito? it must be quite early?

CRITO. Yes, certainly.

SOCRATES. What is the exact time?

CRITO. The dawn is breaking.

SOCRATES. I wonder that the keeper of the prison would let you in.

CRITO. He knows me, because I often come, Socrates; moreover I have done him a kindness.

SOCRATES. And are you only just come?

CRITO. No, I came some time ago.

SOCRATES. Then why did you sit and say nothing, instead of awakening me at once?

CRITO. Why, indeed, Socrates, I myself would rather not have all this sleeplessness and sorrow. But I have been wondering at your peaceful slumbers, and that was the reason why I did not awaken you, because I wanted you to be out of pain. I have always thought you happy in the calmness of your temperament; but never did I see the like of the easy, cheerful way in which you bear this calamity.

SOCRATES. Why, Crito, when a man has reached my age he ought not to be repining at the prospect of death.

CRITO. And yet other old men find themselves in similar misfortunes, and age does not prevent them from repining.

SOCRATES. That may be. But you have not told me why you come at this early hour.

CRITO. I come to bring you a message which is sad and painful; not, as I believe, to yourself, but to all of us who are your friends, and saddest of all to me.

SOCRATES. What! I suppose that the ship has come from Delos, on the arrival of which I am to die?

CRITO. No, the ship has not actually arrived, but she will probably be here to-day, as persons who have come from Sunium tell me that they left her there; and therefore to-morrow, Socrates, will be the last day of your life.

SOCRATES. Very well, Crito; if such is the will of God, I am willing; but my belief is that there will be a delay of a day.

CRITO. Why do you say this?

SOCRATES. I will tell you. I am to die on the day after the arrival of the ship?

CRITO. Yes; that is what the authorities say.

SOCRATES. But I do not think that the ship will be here until to-morrow; this I gather from a vision which I had last night, or rather only just now, when you fortunately allowed me to sleep.

CRITO. And what was the nature of the vision?

SOCRATES. There came to me the likeness of a woman, fair and comely, clothed in white raiment, who called to me and said: "O Socrates, the third day hence to Phthia shalt thou go."

CRITO. What a singular dream, Socrates!

SOCRATES. There can be no doubt about the meaning, Crito, I think.

CRITO. Yes; the meaning is only too clear. But, Oh! my beloved Socrates, let me entreat you once more to take my advice and escape. For if you die I shall not only lose a friend who can never be replaced, but there is another evil: people who do not know you and me will believe that I might have saved you if I had been willing to give money, but that I did not care. Now, can there be a worse disgrace than this—that I should be thought to value money more than the life of a friend? For the many will not be persuaded that I wanted you to escape, and that you refused.

SOCRATES. But why, my dear Crito, should we care about the opinion of the many? Good men, and they are the only persons who are worth considering, will think of these things truly as they happened.

CRITO. But do you see, Socrates, that the opinion of the many must be regarded, as is evident in your own case, because they can do the very greatest evil to any one who has lost their good opinion.

SOCRATES. I only wish, Crito, that they could; for then they could also do

the greatest good, and that would be well. But the truth is, that they can do neither good nor evil: they can not make a man wise or make him foolish; and whatever they do is the result of chance.

CRITO. Well, I will not dispute about that; but please to tell me, Socrates, whether you are not acting out of regard to me and your other friends: are you not afraid that if you escape hence we may get into trouble with the informers for having stolen you away, and lose either the whole or a great part of our property; or that even a worse evil may happen to us? Now, if this is your fear, be at ease; for in order to save you we ought surely to run this, or even a greater risk; be persuaded, then, and do as I say.

SOCRATES. Yes. Crito, that is one fear which you mention, but by no means the only one.

CRITO. Fear not. There are persons who at no great cost are willing to save you and bring you out of prison; and as for the informers, you may observe that they are far from being exorbitant in their demands; a little money will satisfy them. My means, which, as I am sure, are ample, are at your service, and if you have a scruple about spending all mine, here are strangers who will give you the use of theirs; and one of them, Simmias the Theban, has brought a sum of money for this very purpose; and Cebes and many others are willing to spend their money too. I say therefore, do not on that account hesitate about making your escape, and do not say, as you did in the court, that you will have a difficulty in knowing what to do with yourself if you escape. For men will love you in other places to which you may go, and not in Athens only; there are friends of mine in Thessaly, if you like to go to them, who will value and protect you, and no Thessalian will give you any trouble. Nor can I think that you are justified, Socrates, in betraying your own life when you might be saved; this is playing into the hands of your enemies and destroyers; and moreover I should say that you were betraying your children; for you might bring them up and educate them; instead of which you go away and leave them, and they will have to take their chance; and if they do not meet with the usual fate of orphans, there will be small thanks to you. No man should bring children into the world who is unwilling to persevere to the end in their nurture and education. But you are choosing the easier part, as I think, not the better and manlier, which would rather have become one who professes virtue in all his actions, like yourself. And indeed, I am ashamed not only of you, but of us who are your friends, when I reflect that this entire business of yours will be attributed to our want of courage. The trial need never have come on, or might have been brought to another issue; and the end of all, which is the crowning absurdity, will seem to have been permitted by us, through cowardice and baseness, who might

have saved you, as you might have saved yourself, if we had been good for anything (for there was no difficulty in escaping); and we did not see how disgraceful, Socrates, and also miserable all this will be to us as well as to you. Make your mind up then, or rather have your mind already made up, for the time of deliberation is over, and there is only one thing to be done, which must be done, if at all, this very night, and which any delay will render all but impossible; I beseech you therefore, Socrates, to be persuaded by me, and to do as I say.

SOCRATES. Dear Crito, your zeal is invaluable, if a right one; but if wrong, the greater the zeal the greater the evil; and therefore we ought to consider whether these things shall be done or not. For I am and always have been one of those natures who must be guided by reason, whatever the reason may be which upon reflection appears to me to be the best; and now that this fortune has come upon me, I can not put away the reasons which I have before given: the principles which I have hitherto honored and revered I still honor, and unless we can find other and better principles on the instant, I am certain not to agree with you; no, not even if the power of the multitude could inflict many more imprisonments, confiscations, deaths, frightening us like children with hobgoblin terrors. But what will be the fairest way of considering the question? Shall I return to your old argument about the opinions of men? some of which are to be regarded, and others, as we were saying, are not to be regarded. Now were we right in maintaining this before I was condemned? And has the argument which was once good now proved to be talk for the sake of talking;—in fact an amusement only, and altogether vanity? That is what I want to consider with your help, Crito:—whether, under my present circumstances, the argument appears to be in any way different or not; and is to be allowed by me or disallowed. That argument, which, as I believe, is maintained by many who assume to be authorities, was to the effect, as I was saying, that the opinions of some men are to be regarded, and of other men not to be regarded. Now you, Crito, are a disinterested person who are not going to die to-morrow—at least, there is no human probability of this, and you are therefore not liable to be deceived by the circumstances in which you are placed. Tell me then, whether I am right in saying that some opinions, and the opinions of some men only, are to be valued, and other opinions, and the opinions of other men, are not to be valued. I ask you whether I was right in maintaining this?

CRITO. Certainly.

SOCRATES. The good are to be regarded, and not the bad?

CRITO. Yes.

SOCRATES. And the opinions of the wise are good, and the opinions of the unwise are evil?

CRITO. Certainly.

SOCRATES. And what was said about another matter? Was the disciple in gymnastics supposed to attend to the praise and blame and opinion of every man, or of one man only—his physician or trainer, whoever that was?

CRITO. Of one man only.

SOCRATES. And he ought to fear the censure and welcome the praise of that one only, and not of the many?

CRITO. That is clear.

SOCRATES. And he ought to live and train, and eat and drink in the way which seems good to his single master who has understanding, rather than according to the opinion of all other men put together?

CRITO. True.

SOCRATES. And if he disobeys and disregards the opinion and approval of the one, and regards the opinion of the many who have no understanding, will he not suffer evil?

CRITO. Certainly he will.

SOCRATES. And what will the evil be, whither tending and what affecting, in the disobedient person?

CRITO. Clearly, affecting the body; that is what is destroyed by the evil.

SOCRATES. Very good; and is not this true, Crito, of other things which we need not separately enumerate? In the matter of just and unjust, fair and foul, good and evil, which are the subjects of our present consultation, ought we to follow the opinion of the many and to fear them; or the opinion of the one man who has understanding, and whom we ought to fear and reverence more than all the rest of the world: and whom deserting we shall destroy and injure that principle in us which may be assumed to be improved by justice and deteriorated by injustice;—is there not such a principle?

CRITO. Certainly there is, Socrates.

SOCRATES. Take a parallel instance:—if, acting under the advice of men who have no understanding, we destroy that which is improvable by health and deteriorated by disease—when that has been destroyed, I say, would life be worth having? And that is—the body?

CRITO. Yes.

SOCRATES. Could we live, having an evil and corrupted body?

CRITO. Certainly not.

SOCRATES. And will life be worth having, if that higher part of man be depraved, which is improved by justice and deteriorated by injustice? Do we suppose that principle, whatever it may be in man, which has to do with justice and injustice, to be inferior to the body?

CRITO. Certainly not.

SOCRATES. More honored, then?

CRITO. Far more honored.

SOCRATES. Then, my friend, we must not regard what the many say of us: but what he, the one man who has understanding of just and unjust, will say, and what the truth will say. And therefore you begin in error when you suggest that we should regard the opinion of the many about just and unjust, good and evil, honorable and dishonorable.—Well, some one will say, "but the many can kill us."

CRITO. Yes, Socrates; that will clearly be the answer.

SOCRATES. That is true: but still I find with surprise that the old argument is, as I conceive, unshaken as ever. And I should like to know whether I may say the same of another proposition—that not life, but a good life, is to be chiefly valued?

CRITO. Yes, that also remains.

SOCRATES. And a good life is equivalent to a just and honorable one—that holds also?

CRITO. Yes, that holds.

SOCRATES. From these premises I proceed to argue the question whether I ought or ought not to try and escape without the consent of the Athenians: and if I am clearly right in escaping, then I will make the attempt; but if not, I will abstain. The other considerations which you mention, of money and loss of character and the duty of educating children, are, as I fear, only the doctrines of the multitude, who would be as ready to call people to life, if they were able, as they are to put them to death—and with as little reason. But now, since the argument has thus far prevailed, the only question which remains to be considered is, whether we shall do rightly either in escaping or in suffering others to aid in our escape and paying them in money and thanks, or whether we shall not do rightly; and if the latter, then death or any other calamity which may ensue on my remaining here must not be allowed to enter into the calculation.

CRITO. I think that you are right, Socrates; how then shall we proceed?

SOCRATES. Let us consider the matter together, and do you either refute me if you can, and I will be convinced, or else cease, my dear friend, from repeating to me that I ought to escape against the wishes of the Athenians: for I am extremely desirous to be persuaded by you, but not against my own better judgment. And now please to consider my first position, and do your best to answer me.

CRITO. I will do my best.

SOCRATES. Are we to say that we are never intentionally to do wrong, or that in one way we ought and in another way we ought not to do wrong, or is doing wrong always evil and dishonorable, as I was just now saying, and as has been already acknowledged by us? Are all our former admissions which were made within a few days to be thrown away? And have we,

at our age, been earnestly discoursing with one another all our life long only to discover that we are no better than children? Or are we to rest assured, in spite of the opinion of the many, and in spite of consequences whether better or worse, of the truth of what was then said, that injustice is always an evil and dishonor to him who acts unjustly? Shall we affirm that?

CRITO. Yes.

SOCRATES. Then we must do no wrong?

CRITO. Certainly not.

SOCRATES. Nor when injured injure in return, as the many imagine; for we must injure no one at all?

CRITO. Clearly not.

SOCRATES. Again, Crito, may we do evil?

CRITO. Surely not, Socrates.

SOCRATES. And what of doing evil in return for evil, which is the morality of the many—is that just or not?

CRITO. Not just.

SOCRATES. For doing evil to another is the same as injuring him?

CRITO. Very true.

SOCRATES. Then we ought not to retaliate or render evil for evil to any one, whatever evil we may have suffered from him. But I would have you consider, Crito, whether you really mean what you are saying. For this opinion has never been held, and never will be held, by any considerable number of persons; and those who are agreed and those who are not agreed upon this point have no common ground, and can only despise one another when they see how widely they differ. Tell me, then, whether you agree with and assent to my first principle, that neither injury nor retaliation nor warding off evil by evil is ever right. And shall that be the premiss of our argument? Or do you decline and dissent from this? For this has been of old and is still my opinion; but, if you are of another opinion, let me hear what you have to say. If, however, you remain of the same mind as formerly, I will proceed to the next step.

CRITO. You may proceed, for I have not changed my mind.

SOCRATES. Then I will proceed to the next step, which may be put in the form of a question:—Ought a man to do what he admits to be right, or ought he to betray the right?

CRITO. He ought to do what he thinks right.

SOCRATES. But if this is true, what is the application? In leaving the prison against the will of the Athenians, do I wrong any? or rather do I not wrong those whom I ought least to wrong? Do I not desert the principles which were acknowledged by us to be just? What do you say?

CRITO. I can not tell, Socrates; for I do not know.

SOCRATES. Then consider the matter in this way:—Imagine that I am about to play truant (you may call the proceeding by any name which you like), and the laws and the government come and interrogate me: "Tell us, Socrates," they say; "what are you about? are you going by an act of yours to overturn us—the laws and the whole state, as far as in you lies? Do you imagine that a state can subsist and not be overthrown, in which the decisions of law have no power, but are set aside and overthrown by individuals?" What will be our answer, Crito, to these and the like words? Any one, and especially a clever rhetorician, will have a good deal to urge about the evil of setting aside the law which requires a sentence to be carried out; and we might reply, "Yes; but the state has injured us and given an unjust sentence." Suppose I say that?

CRITO. Very good, Socrates.

SOCRATES. "And was that our agreement with you?" the law would say; "or were you to abide by the sentence of the state?" And if I were to express astonishment at their saying this, the law would probably add: "Answer, Socrates, instead of opening your eyes: you are in the habit of asking and answering questions. Tell us what complaint you have to make against us which justifies you in attempting to destroy us and the state? In the first place did we not bring you into existence? Your father married your mother by our aid and begat you. Say whether you have any objection to urge against those of us who regulate marriage?" None, I should reply. "Or against those of us who regulate the system of nurture and education of children in which you were trained? Were not the laws, who have the charge of this, right in commanding your father to train you in music and gymnastic?" Right, I should reply. "Well then, since you were brought into the world and nurtured and educated by us, can you deny in the first place that you are our child and slave, as your fathers were before you? And if this is true you are not on equal terms with us; nor can you think that you have a right to do to us what we are doing to you. Would you have any right to strike or revile or do any other evil to a father or to your master, if you had one, when you have been struck or reviled by him, or received some other evil at his hands?—you would not say this? And because we think right to destroy you, do you think that you have any right to destroy us in return, and your country as far as in you lies? And will you, O professor of true virtue, say that you are justified in this? Has a philosopher like you failed to discover that our country is more to be valued and higher and holier far than mother or father or any ancestor, and more to be regarded in the eyes of the gods and of men of understanding? also to be soothed, and gently and reverently entreated when angry, even more than a father, and if not persuaded, obeyed? And when we are punished by her, whether with imprisonment or stripes, the

punishment is to be endured in silence; and if she lead us to wounds or death in battle, thither we follow as is right; neither may any one yield or retreat or leave his rank, but whether in battle or in a court of law, or in any other place, he must do what his city and his country order him; or he must change their view of what is just: and if he may do no violence to his father or mother, much less may he do violence to his country." What answer shall we make to this, Crito? Do the laws speak truly, or do they not?

CRITO. I think that they do.

SOCRATES. Then the laws will say: "Consider, Socrates, if this is true, that in your present attempt you are going to do us wrong. For, after having brought you into the world, and nurtured and educated you, and given you and every other citizen a share in every good that we had to give, we further proclaim and give the right to every Athenian, that if he does not like us when he has come of age and has seen the ways of the city, and made our acquaintance, he may go where he pleases and take his goods with him; and none of us laws will forbid him or interfere with him. Any of you who does not like us and the city, and who wants to go to a colony or to any other city, may go where he likes, and take his goods with him. But he who has experience of the manner in which we order justice and administer the state, and still remains, has entered into an implied contract that he will do as we command him. And he who disobeys us is, as we maintain, thrice wrong; first, because in disobeying us he is disobeying his parents; secondly, because we are the authors of his education; thirdly, because he has made an agreement with us that he will duly obey our commands; and he neither obeys them nor convinces us that our commands are wrong; and we do not rudely impose them, but give them the alternative of obeying or convincing us;—that is what we offer, and he does neither. These are the sort of accusations to which, as we were saying, you, Socrates, will be exposed if you accomplish your intentions; you, above all other Athenians." Suppose I ask, why is this? they will justly retort upon me that I above all other men have acknowledged the agreement. "There is clear proof," they will say, "Socrates, that we and the city were not displeasing to you. Of all Athenians you have been the most constant resident in the city, which, as you never leave, you may be supposed to love. For you never went out of the city either to see the games, except once when you went to the Isthmus, or to any other place unless when you were on military service; nor did you travel as other men do. Nor had you any curiosity to know other states or their laws: your affections did not go beyond us and our state; we were your special favorites, and you acquiesced in our government of you; and this is the state in which you begat your children, which is proof of your satisfaction.

Moreover, you might, if you had liked, have fixed the penalty at banishment in the course of the trial—the state which refuses to let you go now would have let you go then. But you pretended that you preferred death to exile, and that you were not grieved at death. And now you have forgotten these fine sentiments, and pay no respect to us the laws, of whom you are the destroyer; and are doing what only a miserable slave would do, running away and turning your back upon the compacts and agreements which you made as a citizen. And first of all answer this very question: Are we right in saying that you agreed to be governed according to us in deed, and not in word only? Is that true or not?" How shall we answer that, Crito? Must we not agree?

CRITO. There is no help, Socrates.

SOCRATES. Then will they not say: "You, Socrates, are breaking the covenants and agreements which you made with us at your leisure, not in any haste or under any compulsion or deception, but having had seventy years to think of them, during which time you were at liberty to leave the city, if we were not to your mind, or if our covenants appeared to you to be unfair. You had your choice, and might have gone either to Lacedaemon or Crete, which you often praise for their good government, or to some other Hellenic or foreign state. Whereas you, above all other Athenians, seemed to be so fond of the state, or, in other words, of us her laws (for who would like a state that has no laws), that you never stirred out of her; the halt, the blind, the maimed were not more stationary in her than you were. And now you run away and forsake your agreements. Not so, Socrates, if you will take our advice; do not make yourself ridiculous by escaping out of the city.

"For just consider, if you transgress and err in this sort of way, what good will you do either to yourself or to your friends? That your friends will be driven into exile and deprived of citizenship, or will lose their property, is tolerably certain; and you yourself, if you fly to one of the neighboring cities, as, for example, Thebes or Megara, both of which are well-governed cities, will come to them as an enemy, Socrates, and their government will be against you, and all patriotic citizens will cast an evil eye upon you as a subverter of the laws, and you will confirm in the minds of the judges the justice of their own condemnation of you. For he who is a corruptor of the laws is more than likely to be corruptor of the young and foolish portion of mankind. Will you then flee from well-ordered cities and virtuous men? and is existence worth having on these terms? Or will you go to them without shame, and talk to them, Socrates? And what will you say to them? What you say here about virtue and justice and institutions and laws being the best things among men. Would that be decent of you? Surely not. But if you go away from well-governed

states to Crito's friends in Thessaly, where there is a great disorder and license, they will be charmed to have the tale of your escape from prison, set off with ludicrous particulars of the manner in which you were wrapped in a goatskin or some other disguise, and metamorphosed as the fashion of runaways is—that is very likely; but will there be no one to remind you that in your old age you violated the most sacred laws from a miserable desire of a little more life. Perhaps not, if you keep them in a good temper; but if they are out of temper you will hear many degrading things; *you will live, but how?*—as the flatterer of all men, and the servant of all men; and doing what?—eating and drinking in Thessaly, having gone abroad in order that you may get a dinner. And where will be your fine sentiments about justice and virtue then? Say that you wish to live for the sake of your *children*, that you may bring them up and educate them—will you take them into Thessaly and deprive them of Athenian citizenship? Is that the benefit which you would confer upon them? Or are you under the impression that they will be better cared for and educated here if you are still alive, although absent from them; for that your friends will take care of them? Do you fancy that if you are an inhabitant of Thessaly they will take care of them, and if you are an inhabitant of the other world they will not take care of them? Nay; but if they who call themselves friends are truly friends, they surely will.

"Listen, then, Socrates, to us who have brought you up. Think not of life and children first, and of justice afterwards, but of justice first, that you may be justified before the princes of the world below. For neither will you nor any that belong to you be happier or holier or juster in this life, or happier in another, if you do as Crito bids. Now you depart in innocence, a sufferer and not a doer of evil; a victim, not of the laws, but of men. But if you go forth, returning evil for evil, and injury for injury, breaking the covenants and agreements which you have made with us, and wronging those whom you ought least to wrong, that is to say, yourself, your friends, your country, and us, we shall be angry with you while you live, and our brethren, the laws in the world below, will receive you as an enemy; for they will know that you have done your best to destroy us. Listen, then, to us and not to Crito."

This is the voice which I seem to hear murmuring in my ears like the sound of the flute in the ears of the mystic; that voice, I say, is humming in my ears, and prevents me from hearing any other. And I know that anything more which you may say will be vain. Yet speak, if you have anything to say.

CRITO. I have nothing to say, Socrates.

SOCRATES. Then let me follow the intimations of the will of God.

Modern democratic concepts

ERIC JOHNSTON The individual *vs.* the state

A GREAT DUEL is under way in the world today. Its issue will determine the basic character and quality of human civilization on this planet perhaps for centuries to come. Though it is part and parcel of the present war, that duel transcends the war in ultimate importance. It is manifest on the surface of affairs in some places, implicit in all places. In our own country it has been at the core of the political and economic turmoil of the two decades between the two world wars, and it may become intensified to the point of a showdown in the years ahead, under the terrific pressures of postwar problems.

I refer to the fateful duel between two conceptions of human existence, two ways of life, that may be summed up in the oversimplified formula: individualism *versus* statism.

The contest cannot be identified in terms of party labels or regions, because it cuts across political and geographical lines. It is not a vertical but a horizontal struggle; I mean that it is not being fought out *between* nations, but *within* every nation, every community, every social grouping. In a sense, indeed, it is being fought out within every individual mind, for so many of us are seeking to understand the main trends of our epoch and to choose between them.

The United States is without doubt the outstanding example of individualism in practice, as well as the greatest champion of the principle, yet there are millions in our midst who yearn for the "planned society" under an omniscient and omnipotent state. Russia and Germany are the foremost examples of statism in action, yet there are millions in those countries who yearn for release from the yoke of an enthroned state.

The history of our epoch makes no sense without this key to its mystery. The age-old struggle between Authority and Liberty seems to have come to a head. In country after country the principle of Authority has triumphed; in others, particularly in America, Liberty is still in the ascendant, though harassed and on the defensive as never before in our national career.

Everywhere, it would seem, an answer is being sought to the riddle whether the people own the state or the state owns the people; whether the individual human being or the abstract aggregation of human beings (government, society, the state) is the central element; whether the fullest un-

foldment of man or the glory and power of his state is the paramount purpose of existence.

The clichés of American political tradition are as good an indication as any of the essence of individualism. All men are created free and equal. Life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. Government of the people, by the people, and for the people. The centralized, dictated states use some of these words, but in a sense so remote from ours that there is not even a point of contact. When they speak of equality, for instance, they really mean uniformity, sameness—the equality of men in an army accepting the identical discipline, or of men in a prison subjected to the identical regulations.

For the individualist, by contrast, equality means identical freedom to be different, to make of his life and abilities such use as he deems best. He is not a cog in a machine, but a self-sufficient machine in himself. His primary assumption is that he has inherent, God-given rights which not even society can take away. In a time of supreme crisis, such as war, he may voluntarily suspend some of those rights, but even then he surrenders as little as possible and remains vigilant to restore those rights as soon as the crisis is ended.

The American Constitution, uniquely among political documents in modern times, deliberately curtails the government in its power by a system of checks and balances. Legislative, executive, and judicial branches act as brakes one upon the other, even exercising prescribed veto powers to prevent excess or arbitrary actions by any of these factors. More than that, the central government under that Constitution enjoys only *specific* privileges, those not specified reverting to the states, thus accomplishing another division of power and another system of checks and balances.

Franklin D. Roosevelt when he was governor of New York, showed a keen awareness of the safeguards offered by local as against centralized government. He warned against the "present dangerous tendency to forget a fundamental of American democracy, which rests on the right of a locality to manage its own local affairs, the tendency to encourage concentration of power at the top of a governmental structure, alien to our system and more closely akin to a dictatorship or the central committee of a communist regime." He topped the warning with a caution that deserves to be inscribed over every American hearth, as a supplement to all fireside chats from high places:

"We have met difficulties before this, and have solved them in accordance with the basic theories of a representative democracy. Let us not at this time pursue the easy road of centralization of authority, lest someday we discover too late that our liberties have disappeared."

The American political system, most important of all, rests on the idea that the powers of government derive from the consent of the governed. In other words, every power vested in the state is a privilege conferred, and those

powers not explicitly given to officialdom belong to the people. The statist theory is exactly the opposite: the government has all power, the people enjoying only those privileges and liberties which the state specifically permits them to have. Their few private freedoms derive from the consent of the government and may be withdrawn by that government.

One of our great jurists, the late Justice Louis D. Brandeis, touched the heart of America's individualism when he wrote:

"The makers of the Constitution . . . sought to protect Americans in their beliefs, their thoughts, their emotions, and their sensations. They conferred, as against the Government, the right to be left alone—the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized man."

That is precisely the right which the statists, the superplanners of every denomination, deny and would abolish. However "humanitarian" their motives, they begin by wiping out this fundamental right to be let alone.

Democracy assumes not only the worth of the individual, but his capacity, his free will, to take care of himself. The statists assume, on the contrary, that no man or woman can or should be trusted to do so. "For his own good," he must be shielded against the consequences of his free will. For fear that he may make *wrong* decisions, he must be prevented from making *any* decisions. In the authoritarian view of the matter, making mistakes without admitting them is a high privilege reserved to government!

Distrust of excessive government power has been so widespread in America, so much a part of the fabric of our everyday beliefs, that until recently it was taken for granted. All parties and groups agreed on keeping the state within bounds, no matter how they might have disagreed on other things. The circumstance that one needs to recall this and to fight down the rising doubts and questions is in itself a symptom of the totalitarian disease which threatens to infect our body politic.

"The history of Liberty," said Woodrow Wilson, "is a history of the limitation of governmental power, not the increase of it. When we resist, therefore, the concentration of power, we are resisting the processes of death, because concentration of power is what always precedes the destruction of human liberties."

He was expressing a truism of American thought which has been repeated a thousand times in a thousand ways by a thousand exponents of the American system. A generation ago no one who claimed to speak in our native tradition—certainly no one who pretended to be a progressive—would have questioned this truism. Unhappily the so-called progressives, in particular, have forgotten this precept. They have been willing and often eager to load government with more and more responsibilities—and every responsibility implies commensurate power!—because they approved the objectives. They have said, in effect:

"Too much concentrated power is, of course, dangerous. But we trust *this* government. Its heart is in the right place and it will not abuse its power."

Such men should be forewarned. They are creating the weapons of their own destruction as self-respecting liberals. They overlook the fact that the very principle of individual freedom and individual responsibility is at stake. Once the safeguards against "big government" are removed, once the mechanisms of regimentation are put into effect, they can be used for reaction as well as reform. They can be employed by self-seekers no less than by high-minded idealists.

Alleged liberals seem tickled pink when some official agency—the National Labor Relations Board, let us say—exercises power far beyond the intentions of the law and even farther beyond the conceptions of the Founding Fathers of our Republic. Their joy flows from the fact that the agency happens to be using its excessive power for what they consider "good" purposes—to favor the radical wing of the labor movement or to "punish" management or to hamstring some business organization. In substance they are pleased and complacent because a bureaucratic perversion of the democratic system is carried out by *their* friends for *their* objectives.

But what if tomorrow or the day after the same agency comes into the hands of "undesirable" officials? What if the accumulated power is switched into reverse and employed for purposes of a wholly different character? What if the precedent set by one agency of the state is extended to another and another department of American life, until no sanctuary of freedom and justice remains?

Unfortunately benevolent dictatorships do not represent a compromise. They represent only an illusion. The benevolence peters out, and only the dictatorship remains.

II

HISTORY IS REPLETE with proofs that concentrated power is not only a corrupting but a self-perpetuating force. Those who acquire it tend to hoard it and to expand it at every opportunity, just as other people hoard and increase their physical possessions.

Superstates, alas, are not administered by supermen. They are obliged to operate through the same kind of human, fallible, self-interested persons as run business and labor unions and other private undertakings. They quickly develop a vested right in their offices, and use their power first of all to protect that right. Invariably they snowball into unwieldy bureaucracies that become a class apart, with interests of their own—not of the people but over the people.

I shall be asked: "But do not business leaders, likewise, protect their vested rights and employ their economic power in their own interests?" True enough. But business is limited in its scope; even the largest of them is small

and powerless compared to the state. Moreover, business is under a variety of restraints, by reason of competition, government surveillance, legal limitations, public acceptance or rejection of its goods or services. The superstate suffers from no such restraints. It is the sole judge of its own behavior and enforces its preferences by police, secret agents, and, where needed, concentration camps and purges.

It is surely no accident that free political institutions have always coincided with free economy, with private enterprise. It happens that capitalism requires freedom to live and survive—the freedom represented by an infinite number of separate business decisions, some right, some wrong, some profitable, some failures.

Out of this immense number of free actions flow goods, services, profits, and losses in the logic of a living reality. We may be sure that there *is* a logic to the seeming "anarchy." Those decisions, after all, are not made in a vacuum. They are related to men's estimates of current needs and opportunities. Mistaken decisions are in the long run canceled out by financial failure; the useful ones prosper. That's the inner logic of capitalism—a control far more effective than arbitrary decisions from above imposed on everybody by duress; a control that works most accurately when it is most free.

State enterprise *must* restrict freedom, no matter how idealistic and freedom-loving its administrators. Many of those who started the communist experiment in Russia honestly believed that "the state will wither away" after a time, once capitalism had been abolished. It did nothing of the sort. Far from "withering away," the Soviet state became ever more centralized and the margins of personal freedom ever more restricted.

There were those who blamed this upon the century-old backwardness of Russia. But Italy followed suit with a state-controlled economy of its own. In 1933 Germany fell into line with the Nazi version of the superstate. And in all of them freedoms of every sort were expunged in the interests of "unity" and planned economy. Everywhere the abrogation of free economy brought with it, as a matter of course, abrogation of free politics, free speech, free press, and even free conscience.

We may take it, therefore, that political oppression is not an accidental by-product of state monopoly of economic life but its necessary and inevitable condition. The planners, especially if they are public-spirited, cannot risk the bankruptcy of their plans through interference by popular preferences and prejudices. In the nature of the case, the more total the planning, the more total the power needed to implement it.

To honest men who have been infected by the poisons of despair and look longingly to a superstate to take personal responsibilities off their shoulders I say:

"Stop fooling yourselves and us with promises of a totalitarian economy

which retains political liberty. The two things are simply incompatible. You can have one or the other, but not both. Ordinary decency, therefore, demands that you drop this double talk and offer your plans for your particular 'new order' under frankly anti-democratic labels."

The communist and fascist systems of our own time are not nearly so new as their spokesmen would like us to believe. Their prototypes are at least as old as Egypt of the Pharaohs. It is fair to say, indeed, that the modern type of capitalist democracy—political freedom combined with economic individualism—is the new and unique institution. It is the really "revolutionary" idea, and one that has justified itself by works as no other in all history.

By this time the few Americans who mistook Hitler's national socialism for a more "organized" version of capitalism have been cruelly disillusioned. They have found out that the all-powerful state plays no favorites. It oppresses rich and poor alike. What ever its original intentions, totalitarian government has inner laws of its own. Everything and everyone must make way for its imperious aggrandizement of total power. The Thyssens' must be swept aside along with the union leaders.

III

THOSE WHO WISH to substitute over-all government planning and operation for the private-enterprise system are fond of ridiculing the "chaos" of our present economic setup. They point to fluctuations in prices and employment, periods of overproduction and underproduction, statistics on business bankruptcy, a kind of hit-and-miss process in starting new business, manufacturing new products on an experimental basis, and so on. By way of contrast they refer to the neat statistics, standardization, "controlled" production, and "controlled" consumption with an all-powerful government backed by armies of police and armies of officials to supervise the process.

Yet would any of us exchange our slow, unwieldy democracy for a streamlined police state? Quite aside from an unreasonable distaste for regimentation and concentration camps, we know that democracy *works*.

Out of its seeming chaos a pattern emerges. True, a pattern that arises from below is not so evident to the naked eye as one that is imposed by force from above. But it is there all the same. Out of the clash of many wills, many opinions, many self-interests there comes action that is roughly representative of the general will. The price in inefficiency and delay is minor compared to the price in oppression of body, mind, and spirit that must be paid for the streamlined surface unity of the superstate.

Besides, that unity is more seeming than real. Teeming discontents engendered by state tyranny seethe and boil under the surface, threatening to break through. That is why collectivized states must always build up such vast machinery of secret police and other repressive institutions.

That efficiency, too, is more seeming than real. Economic blunders which in a capitalist society show up for all to see are concealed; they can be covered up with lying statistics or political oratory in the totalitarian society. But even granting the most optimistic claims of the super-planners, we prefer our "chaotic" democracy. We are content to accept the inefficiency of checks and balances; the uneconomical duplication of divided authority between federal and state governments; the waste of energy involved in unrestricted free speech, press, and assembly.

And for the same reason we prefer the "chaos" of private enterprise. Prescribed production, rationed consumption, nationwide plans on the model of the late unlamented N.R.A. may be more efficient in theory. In practice they merely prevent the full, exuberant expression of a nation's will to produce, create, experiment, risk. In the "planned" society an error in calculation brings colossal harm in its wake if only because of the scale of the undertaking; after all, plans can be wrong as often as they are right. In a free economy the error of one man is balanced by the brilliant achievement of another, and in any case it is soon corrected by a process of elimination. Millions of variegated actions combine to attain a living balance.

In the collectivized state, economic measures are made arbitrarily and enforced arbitrarily. There are no safety valves, no brakes. One bad judgment may doom millions to penury and even death. Those measures need have no inner logic, no relevancy to actual conditions, since they are handed down from above.

But capitalist enterprise is checked at every point by the laws of supply and demand, the pressures of competition, the public reaction to its products. Its "chaos" is actually the ferment of growth and change—of energy bursting its bounds. Its seeming inefficiency is in reality proof of a continuous and healthy process of mutual accommodation. Its laws are not artificial but an integral expression of community needs, appetites, and capacities.

The basic totalitarian fallacy is that officials, by virtue of their titles and impressive powers, are somehow more than mortal; that they somehow avoid the errors of judgment and the temptations of self-interest commonly on view among ordinary men in private undertakings. The common-sense fact, however, is that men are not miraculously changed by assuming public office. The bureaucrat carrying out some economic task is neither wiser nor better than the employee of a private corporation doing the same job. He is merely more irresponsible. His mistakes and greeds are "on the house."

A man in private business prospers or fails roughly in proportion as he meets public needs mirrored by the free market. Unless he delivers the goods he simply will not survive. He cannot evade facts; competitors and customers are always there to enforce his contribution. But the same man in

government can compound stupidities almost endlessly. Since he makes no investment, he can suffer no losses. His tenure of employment is assured no matter how badly his firm—the superstate—may fare. In the final analysis his economic safety depends less on accomplishment than on political connnections, demagogic skill, and often a talent for evading responsibility by doing nothing but doing it impressively.

The very "efficiency" professed by superstates is a piece of trickery. Losses do not show up in red on the books; they show up in greater burdens on the whole people. Where we find a seeming advantage for the state system, a little search reveals that the public is paying the difference in taxes or higher prices.

The power-state, under any disguise, is the very antithesis of the American democratic concept. Our ideal of decentralized government, the split authority of checks and balances, a high degree of local autonomy is at the other extreme from the superstate necessitated by socialized economy. None of the claims made for the latter stands up under scrutiny. But even if they did, even if they yielded the magical fruits promised by its promoters, we Americans should renounce it on the one and sufficient ground that it denies us that freedom which we need as much as we need food and air.

There are many able Americans who feel, and rightly so, that they could "make good" in a controlled economy under an all-powerful state, just as they have "made good" under capitalism. In one system or another, native abilities go a long way. The executive who owns his business can, without too much straining of his imagination, see himself as a state official administering a state-dominated business. What he will lose in monetary returns he may make up in the coin of personal power, and that means more to some kind of people than wealth.

In rejecting the state economy such men, therefore, are not merely protecting their "little piles." Ordinary fairness demands that we admit that they hate tyranny because it is hateful, quite aside from its impact on their own positions. The most articulate and able opponents of statism, in sober fact, have been men and women without any personal fortunes or large property holdings. They have been people who loved freedom for others as well as for themselves.

Personally, I suppose I should find a tolerable niche in any society. My success in the capitalist setup has been decidedly on the modest and moderate side. I have enough of those attributes which might be called "political"—enough glibness of tongue and capacity for group leadership—to take me farther, perhaps, in a wholly politicalized society than in a wholly private one. Yet life under such a dictated, managed, and regimented dispensation seems to me horrifying, even if I were in the minority of those who dictate, manage, and regiment.

And that, I venture to surmise, is the feeling of the overwhelming majority of Americans—businessmen, politicians, professional men, labor people. We have no stomach for life in a prison, even if we can think of ourselves as keepers and wardens rather than inmates. We want to be free in a free country, and should despise ourselves if we were free in a strait-jacketed country.

IV

SOCIAL REFORMERS in the past have often complained against the assumption of political power by business groups. The possession of wealth and economic influence is in itself a form of power, and the people are justified in taking reasonable measures against its abuse. But when political authority, through undue control of the government, is added to that economic power, the situation becomes intolerable. Most intelligent conservatives will agree to this, and all liberals, intelligent and otherwise, will insist on this.

Yet the same liberals fail to understand that the combination of economic and political power in one set of hands is no more wholesome when it is obtained in the modern fashion—that is to say, when the state takes over the economic reins. *The result is the same whether business absorbs government or government absorbs business.*

Safety for the common man—or the uncommon man, for that matter—lies in the greatest division of functions in our complex society, so that every group or interest exerts some restraint on the others. Management, organized labor, organized agriculture, government, the many subdivisions within these categories each serve as a natural check on the others. In the measure that they coalesce under a single control (which is quite different from co-operation by free and independent elements) our democratic freedoms are endangered. The safety of the democratic way of life lies in multiplicity, never in uniformity.

Let me venture a prediction which, I hope, may also strike the reader as a timely warning. If recent tendencies toward state domination of business in our nation should go unchecked much longer, *we must expect to see business moving in on government.* That process, as we shall note in a later chapter, is already under way in England, and signs of it are not lacking in our own country.

If the rewards of business risks are to be limited almost to the vanishing point, while the risks and losses remain as great as ever, why continue at all? In that case why not allow and even encourage government to take the headaches along with the profits? If bureaucracy is permitted to rule the roost, will not the great executives and administrators be tempted to take over the bureaucracy as the only outlet for superior organizing and business talent? They need only adjust themselves—as so many able men in col-

lectivized societies have done—to hoarding power instead of making money to become perfect bureaucrats themselves.

That is one danger which those liberals who have, paradoxically, taken over the highly unliberal statist ideology fail to foresee. The very thing they feared—concentration of both political and economic authority in the same hands—will have been achieved under beguilingly "progressive" labels.

In building up the authoritarian state they are playing with dynamite. Statism is more menacing today than ever in the past because modern technology has equipped government with mechanical means for enforcing its arbitrary will such as absolutist tyrannies in the past did not dream of. In the days of the Roman Empire it took weeks and months before a new oppressive edict could reach officials in more distant places and become effective. Today the telegraph and the radio enable the dictator state to exercise control efficiently, instantaneously, and totally. What is more, by control of radio, printing presses, schools, television, it can also hold the minds of its population in subjection.

Everyone recognizes that the regulatory role of government in economic life is inevitably larger in our era. But for that very reason, it seems to me, we have urgent cause to hold tight to the most basic idea in American political philosophy and tradition—the idea that government is a tool of the people, never the other way around. In our economic life government must be kept to its role as an arbiter, not as a competitor or dictator.

The power-state, of course, denies that free will of the individual. All will is monopolized by the government. That explains why totalitarian nations are always in greater or lesser degree hostile to religion. Religion, like democracy, assumes that man is a worthy object in himself and not merely an infinitesimal and contemptible cog in a great machine; that he has conscience to which he must be true and a soul to be saved.

The duel between individualism and statism is the most decisive fact in this period. America indubitably belongs on the side of individualism. We must not lose by default.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT Progressive government

MY FRIENDS: I count it a privilege to be invited to address the Commonwealth Club. It has stood in the life of this city and State, and it is perhaps accurate to add, the Nation, as a group of citizen leaders interested in fundamental problems of Government, and chiefly concerned with achieve-

From *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt,* Volume I, Random House, Inc. This speech was made before the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, during the 1932 campaign for the presidency and in the midst of a nation-wide depression.

ment of progress in Government through non-partisan means. The privilege of addressing you, therefore, in the heat of a political campaign, is great. I want to respond to your courtesy in terms consistent with your policy.

I want to speak not of politics but of Government. I want to speak not of parties, but of universal principles. They are not political, except in that larger sense in which a great American once expressed a definition of politics, that nothing in all of human life is foreign to the science of politics.

I do want to give you, however, a recollection of a long life spent for a large part in public office. Some of my conclusions and observations have been deeply accentuated in these past few weeks. I have traveled far—from Albany to the Golden Gate. I have seen many people, and heard many things, and today, when in a sense my journey has reached the half-way mark, I am glad of the opportunity to discuss with you what it all means to me.

Sometimes, my friends, particularly in years such as these, the hand of discouragement falls upon us. It seems that things are in a rut, fixed, settled, that the world has grown old and tired and very much out of joint. This is the mood of depression, of dire and weary depression.

But then we look around us in America, and everything tells us that we are wrong. America is new. It is in the process of change and development. It has the great potentialities of youth, and particularly is this true of the great West, and of this coast, and of California.

I would not have you feel that I regard this as in any sense a new community. I have traveled in many parts of the world, but never have I felt the arresting thought of the change and development more than here, where the old, mystic East would seem to be near to us, where the currents of life and thought and commerce of the whole world meet us. This factor alone is sufficient to cause man to stop and think of the deeper meaning of things, when he stands in this community.

But more than that, I appreciate that the membership of this club consists of men who are thinking in terms beyond the immediate present, beyond their own immediate tasks, beyond their own individual interests. I want to invite you, therefore, to consider with me in the large, some of the relationships of Government and economic life that go deeply into our daily lives, our happiness, our future and our security.

The issue of Government has always been whether individual men and women will have to serve some system of Government or economics, or whether a system of Government and economics exists to serve individual men and women. This question has persistently dominated the discussion of Government for many generations. On questions relating to these things men have differed, and for time immemorial it is probable that honest men will continue to differ.

The final word belongs to no man; yet we can still believe in change and in progress. Democracy, as a dear old friend of mine in Indiana, Meredith Nicholson, has called it, is a quest, a never-ending seeking for better things, and in the seeking for these things and the striving for them, there are many roads to follow. But, if we map the course of these roads, we find that there are only two general directions.

When we look about us, we are likely to forget how hard people have worked to win the privilege of Government. The growth of the national Governments of Europe was the struggle for the development of a centralized force in the Nation, strong enough to impose peace upon ruling barons. In many instances the victory of the central Government, the creation of a strong central Government, was a haven of refuge to the individual. The people preferred the master far away to the exploitation and cruelty of the smaller master near at hand.

But the creators of national Government were perforce ruthless men. They were often cruel in their methods, but they did strive steadily toward something that society needed and very much wanted, a strong central State able to keep the peace, to stamp out civil war, to put the unruly nobleman in his place, and to permit the bulk of individuals to live safely. The man of ruthless force had his place in developing a pioneer country, just as he did in fixing the power of the central Government in the development of Nations. Society paid him well for his services and its development. When the development among the Nations of Europe, however, had been completed, ambition and ruthlessness, having served their term, tended to overstep their mark.

There came a growing feeling that Government was conducted for the benefit of a few who thrived unduly at the expense of all. The people sought a balancing—a limiting force. There came gradually, through town councils, trade guilds, national parliaments, by constitution and by popular participation and control, limitations on arbitrary power.

Another factor that tended to limit the power of those who ruled, was the rise of the ethical conception that a ruler bore a responsibility for the welfare of his subjects.

The American colonies were born in this struggle. The American Revolution was a turning point in it. After the Revolution the struggle continued and shaped itself in the public life of the country. There were those who because they had seen the confusion which attended the years of war for American independence surrendered to the belief that popular Government was essentially dangerous and essentially unworkable. They were honest people, my friends, and we cannot deny that their experience had warranted some measure of fear. The most brilliant, honest and able exponent of this

point of view was Hamilton. He was too impatient of slow-moving methods. Fundamentally he believed that the safety of the republic lay in the autocratic strength of its Government, that the destiny of individuals was to serve that Government, and that fundamentally a great and strong group of central institutions, guided by a small group of able and public spirited citizens, could best direct all Government.

But Mr. Jefferson, in the summer of 1776, after drafting the Declaration of Independence turned his mind to the same problem and took a different view. He did not deceive himself with outward forms. Government to him was a means to an end, not an end in itself; it might be either a refuge and a help or a threat and a danger, depending on the circumstances. We find him carefully analyzing the society for which he was to organize a Government. "We have no paupers. The great mass of our population is of laborers, our rich who cannot live without labor, either manual or professional, being few and of moderate wealth. Most of the laboring class possess property, cultivate their own lands, have families and from the demand for their labor, are enabled to exact from the rich and the competent such prices as enable them to feed abundantly, clothe above mere decency, to labor moderately and raise their families."

These people, he considered, had two sets of rights, those of "personal competency" and those involved in acquiring and possessing property. By "personal competency" he meant the right of free thinking, freedom of forming and expressing opinions, and freedom of personal living, each man according to his own lights. To insure the first set of rights, a Government must so order its functions as not to interfere with the individual. But even Jefferson realized that the exercise of the property rights might so interfere with the rights of the individual that the Government, without whose assistance the property rights could not exist, must intervene, not to destroy individualism, but to protect it.

You are familiar with the great political duel which followed; and how Hamilton, and his friends, building toward a dominant centralized power were at length defeated in the great election of 1800, by Mr. Jefferson's party. Out of that duel came the two parties, Republican and Democratic, as we know them today.

So began, in American political life, the new day, the day of the individual against the system, the day in which individualism was made the great watchword of American life. The happiest of economic conditions made that day long and splendid. On the Western frontier, land was substantially free. No one, who did not shirk the task of earning a living, was entirely without opportunity to do so. Depressions could, and did, come and go; but they could not alter the fundamental fact that most of the people lived partly by

selling their labor and partly by extracting their livelihood from the soil, so that starvation and dislocation were practically impossible. At the very worst there was always the possibility of climbing into a covered wagon and moving west where the untilled prairies afforded a haven for men to whom the East did not provide a place. So great were our natural resources that we could offer this relief not only to our own people, but to the distressed of all the world; we could invite immigration from Europe, and welcome it with open arms. Traditionally, when a depression came a new section of land was opened in the West; and even our temporary misfortune served our manifest destiny.

It was in the middle of the nineteenth century that a new force was released and a new dream created. The force was what is called the industrial revolution, the advance of steam and machinery and the rise of the forerunners of the modern industrial plant. The dream was the dream of an economic machine, able to raise the standard of living for everyone; to bring luxury within the reach of the humblest; to annihilate distance by steam power and later by electricity, and to release everyone from the drudgery of the heaviest manual toil. It was to be expected that this would necessarily affect Government. Heretofore, Government had merely been called upon to produce conditions within which people could live happily, labor peacefully, and rest secure. Now it was called upòn to aid in the consummation of this new dream. There was, however, a shadow over the dream. To be made real, it required use of the talents of men of tremendous will and tremendous ambition, since by no other force could the problems of financing and engineering and new developments be brought to a consummation.

So manifest were the advantages of the machine age, however, that the United States fearlessly, cheerfully, and, I think, rightly, accepted the bitter with the sweet. It was thought that no price was too high to pay for the advantages which we could draw from a finished industrial system. The history of the last half century is accordingly in large measure a history of a group of financial Titans whose methods were not scrutinized with too much care, and who were honored in proportion as they produced the results, irrespective of the means they used. The financiers who pushed the railroads to the Pacific were always ruthless, often wasteful, and frequently corrupt; but they did build railroads, and we have them today. It has been estimated that the American investor paid for the American railroad system more than three times over in the process; but despite this fact the net advantage was to the United States. As long as we had free land; as long as population was growing by leaps and bounds; as long as our industrial plants were insufficient to supply our own needs, society chose to give the ambitious man free play and unlimited reward provided only that he produced the economic plant so much desired.

During this period of expansion, there was equal opportunity for all, and the business of Government was not to interfere but to assist in the development of industry. This was done at the request of business men themselves. The tariff was originally imposed for the purpose of "fostering our infant industry," a phrase I think the older among you will remember as a political issue not so long ago. The railroads were subsidized, sometimes by grants of money, oftener by grants of land; some of the most valuable oil lands in the United States were granted to assist the financing of the railroad which pushed through the Southwest. A nascent merchant marine was assisted by grants of money, or by mail subsidies, so that our steam shipping might ply the seven seas. Some of my friends tell me that they do not want the Government in business. With this I agree; but I wonder whether they realize the implications of the past. For while it has been American doctrine that the Government must not go into business in competition with private enterprises, still it has been traditional, particularly in Republican administrations, for business urgently to ask the Government to put at private disposal all kinds of Government assistance. The same man who tells you that he does not want to see the Government interfere in business—and he means it, and has plenty of good reasons for saying so—is the first to go to Washington and ask the Government for a prohibitory tariff on his product. When things get just bad enough, as they did two years ago, he will go with equal speed to the United States Government and ask for a loan; and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is the outcome of it. Each group has sought protection from the Government for its own special interests, without realizing that the function of Government must be to favor no small group at the expense of its duty to protect the rights of personal freedom and of private property of all its citizens.

In retrospect we can now see that the turn of the tide came with the turn of the century. We were reaching our last frontier; there was no more free land and our industrial combinations had become great uncontrolled and irresponsible units of power within the State. Clear-sighted men saw with fear the danger that opportunity would no longer be equal; that the growing corporation, like the feudal baron of old, might threaten the economic freedom of individuals to earn a living. In that hour, our anti-trust laws were born. The cry was raised against the great corporations. Theodore Roosevelt, the first great Republican Progressive, fought a Presidential campaign on the issue of "trust busting" and talked freely about malefactors of great wealth. If the Government had a policy it was rather to turn the clock back, to destroy the large combinations and to return to the time when every man owned his individual small business.

This was impossible; Theodore Roosevelt, abandoning the idea of "trust busting," was forced to work out a difference between "good" trusts and

"bad" trusts. The Supreme Court set forth the famous "rule of reason" by which it seems to have meant that a concentration of industrial power was permissible if the method by which it got its power, and the use it made of that power, were reasonable.

Woodrow Wilson, elected in 1912, saw the situation more clearly. Where Jefferson had feared the encroachment of political power on the lives of individuals, Wilson knew that the new power was financial. He saw, in the highly centralized economic system, the despot of the twentieth century, on whom great masses of individuals relied for their safety and their livelihood, and whose irresponsibility and greed (if they were not controlled) would reduce them to starvation and penury. The concentration of financial power had not proceeded so far in 1912 as it has today; but it had grown far enough for Mr. Wilson to realize fully its implications. It is interesting, now, to read his speeches. What is called "radical" today (and I have reason to know whereof I speak) is mild compared to the campaign of Mr. Wilson. "No man can deny," he said, "that the lines of endeavor have more and more narrowed and stiffened; no man who knows anything about the development of industry in this country can have failed to observe that the larger kinds of credit are more and more difficult to obtain unless you obtain them upon terms of uniting your efforts with those who already control the industry of the country, and nobody can fail to observe that every man who tries to set himself up in competition with any process of manufacture which has taken place under the control of large combinations of capital will presently find himself either squeezed out or obliged to sell and allow himself to be absorbed." Had there been no World War—had Mr. Wilson been able to devote eight years to domestic instead of to international affairs—we might have had a wholly different situation at the present time. However, the then distant roar of European cannon, growing ever louder, forced him to abandon the study of this issue. The problem he saw so clearly is left with us as a legacy; and no one of us on either side of the political controversy can deny that it is a matter of grave concern to the Government.

A glance at the situation today only too clearly indicates that equality of opportunity as we have known it no longer exists. Our industrial plant is built; the problem just now is whether under existing conditions it is not overbuilt. Our last frontier has long since been reached, and there is practically no more free land. More than half of our people do not live on the farms or on lands and cannot derive a living by cultivating their own property. There is no safety valve in the form of a Western prairie to which those thrown out of work by Eastern economic machines can go for a new start. We are not able to invite the immigration from Europe to share our endless plenty. We are now providing a drab living for our own people.

Our system of constantly rising tariffs has at last reacted against us to the point of closing our Canadian frontier on the north, our European markets on the east, many of our Latin-American markets to the south, and a goodly proportion of our Pacific markets on the west, through the retaliatory tariffs of those countries. It has forced many of our great industrial institutions which exported their surplus production to such countries, to establish plants in such countries, within the tariff walls. This has resulted in the reduction of the operation of their American plants, and opportunity for employment.

Just as freedom to farm has ceased, so also the opportunity in business has narrowed. It still is true that men can start small enterprises, trusting to native shrewdness and ability to keep abreast of competitors; but area after area has been preempted altogether by the great corporations, and even in the fields which still have no great concerns, the small man starts under a handicap. The unfeeling statistics of the past three decades show that the independent business man is running a losing race. Perhaps he is forced to the wall; perhaps he cannot command credit; perhaps he is "squeezed out," in Mr. Wilson's words, by highly organized corporate competitors, as your corner grocery man can tell you. Recently a careful study was made of the concentration of business in the United States. It showed that our economic life was dominated by some six hundred odd corporations who controlled two-thirds of American industry. Ten million small business men divided the other third. More striking still, it appeared that if the process of concentration goes on at the same rate, at the end of another century we shall have all American industry controlled by a dozen corporations, and run by perhaps a hundred men. Put plainly, we are steering a steady course toward economic oligarchy, if we are not there already.

Clearly, all this calls for a re-appraisal of values. A mere builder of more industrial plants, a creator of more railroad systems, an organizer of more corporations, is as likely to be a danger as a help. The day of the great promoter or the financial Titan, to whom we granted anything if only he would build, or develop, is over. Our task now is not discovery or exploitation of natural resources, or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to reestablish foreign markets for our surplus production, of meeting the problem of underconsumption, of adjusting production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organizations to the service of the people. The day of enlightened administration has come.

Just as in older times the central Government was first a haven of refuge, and then a threat, so now in a closer economic system the central and ambitious financial unit is no longer a servant of national desire, but a danger.

I would draw the parallel one step farther. We did not think because national Government had become a threat in the 18th century that therefore we should abandon the principle of national Government. Nor today should we abandon the principle of strong economic units called corporations, merely because their power is susceptible of easy abuse. In other times we dealt with the problem of an unduly ambitious central Government by modifying it gradually into a constitutional democratic Government. So today we are modifying and controlling our economic units.

As I see it, the task of Government in its relation to business is to assist the development of an economic declaration of rights, an economic constitutional order. This is the common task of statesman and business man. It is the minimum requirement of a more permanently safe order of things.

Happily, the times indicate that to create such an order not only is the proper policy of Government, but it is the only line of safety for our economic structures as well. We know, now, that these economic units cannot exist unless prosperity is uniform, that is, unless purchasing power is well distributed throughout every group in the Nation. That is why even the most selfish of corporations for its own interest would be glad to see wages restored and unemployment ended and to bring the Western farmer back to his accustomed level of prosperity and to assure a permanent safety to both groups. That is why some enlightened industries themselves endeavor to limit the freedom of action of each man and business group within the industry in the common interest of all; why business men everywhere are asking a form of organization which will bring the scheme of things into balance, even though it may in some measure qualify the freedom of action of individual units within the business.

The exposition need not further be elaborated. It is brief and incomplete, but you will be able to expand it in terms of your own business or occupation without difficulty. I think everyone who has actually entered the economic struggle—which means everyone who was not born to safe wealth—knows in his own experience and his own life that we have now to apply the earlier concepts of American Government to the conditions of today.

The Declaration of Independence discusses the problem of Government in terms of a contract. Government is a relation of give and take, a contract, perforce, if we would follow the thinking out of which it grew. Under such a contract rulers were accorded power, and the people assented to that power on consideration that they be accorded certain rights. The task of statesmanship has always been the re-definition of these rights in terms of a changing and growing social order. New conditions impose new requirements upon Government and those who conduct Government.

I held, for example, in proceedings before me as Governor, the purpose of which was the removal of the Sheriff of New York, that under modern conditions it was not enough for a public official merely to evade the legal terms of official wrong-doing. He owed a positive duty as well. I said in substance that if he had acquired large sums of money, he was when accused required to explain the sources of such wealth. To that extent this wealth was colored with a public interest. I said that in financial matters, public servants should, even beyond private citizens, be held to a stern and uncompromising rectitude.

I feel that we are coming to a view through the drift of our legislation and our public thinking in the past quarter century that private economic power is, to enlarge an old phrase, a public trust as well. I hold that continued enjoyment of that power by any individual or group must depend upon the fulfillment of that trust. The men who have reached the summit of American business life know this best; happily, many of these urge the binding quality of this greater social contract.

The terms of that contract are as old as the Republic, and as new as the new economic order.

Every man has a right to life; and this means that he has also a right to make a comfortable living. He may by sloth or crime decline to exercise that right; but it may not be denied him. We have no actual famine or dearth; our industrial and agricultural mechanism can produce enough and to spare. Our Government, formal and informal, political and economic, owes to everyone an avenue to possess himself of a portion of that plenty sufficient for his needs, through his own work.

Every man has a right to his own property; which means a right to be assured, to the fullest extent attainable, in the safety of his savings. By no other means can men carry the burdens of those parts of life which, in the nature of things, afford no chance of labor; childhood, sickness, old age. In all thought of property, this right is paramount; all other property rights must yield to it. If, in accord with this principle, we must restrict the operations of the speculator, the manipulator, even the financier, I believe we must accept the restriction as needful, not to hamper individualism but to protect it.

These two requirements must be satisfied, in the main, by the individuals who claim and hold control of the great industrial and financial combinations which dominate so large a part of our industrial life. They have undertaken to be, not business men, but princes of property. I am not prepared to say that the system which produces them is wrong. I am very clear that they must fearlessly and competently assume the responsibility which goes

with the power. So many enlightened business men know this that the statement would be little more than a platitude, were it not for an added implication.

This implication is, briefly, that the responsible heads of finance and industry instead of acting each for himself, must work together to achieve the common end. They must, where necessary, sacrifice this or that private advantage; and in reciprocal self-denial must seek a general advantage. It is here that formal Government—political Government, if you choose—comes in. Whenever in the pursuit of this objective the lone wolf, the unethical competitor, the reckless promoter, the Ishmael or Insull whose hand is against every man's, declines to join in achieving an end recognized as being for the public welfare, and threatens to drag the industry back to a state of anarchy, the Government may properly be asked to apply restraint. Likewise, should the group ever use its collective power contrary to the public welfare, the Government must be swift to enter and protect the public interest.

The Government should assume the function of economic regulation only as a last resort, to be tried only when private initiative, inspired by high responsibility, with such assistance and balance as Government can give, has finally failed. As yet there has been no final failure, because there has been no attempt; and I decline to assume that this Nation is unable to meet the situation.

The final term of the high contract was for liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We have learned a great deal of both in the past century. We know that individual liberty and individual happiness mean nothing unless both are ordered in the sense that one man's meat is not another man's poison. We know that the old "rights of personal competency," the right to read, to think, to speak, to choose and live a mode of life, must be respected at all hazards. We know that liberty to do anything which deprives others of those elemental rights is outside the protection of any compact; and that Government in this regard is the maintenance of a balance, within which every individual may have a place if he will take it; in which every individual may find safety if he wishes it; in which every individual may attain such power as his ability permits, consistent with his assuming the accompanying responsibility.

All this is a long, slow talk. Nothing is more striking than the simple innocence of the men who insist, whenever an objective is present, on the prompt production of a patent scheme guaranteed to produce a result. Human endeavor is not so simple as that. Government includes the art of formulating a policy, and using the political technique to attain so much of that policy as will receive general support; persuading, leading, sacrificing, teaching always, because the greatest duty of a statesman is to educate. But in the

matters of which I have spoken, we are learning rapidly, in a severe school. The lessons so learned must not be forgotten, even in the mental lethargy of a speculative upturn. We must build toward the time when a major depression cannot occur again; and if this means sacrificing the easy profits of inflationist booms, then let them go; and good riddance.

Faith in America, faith in our tradition of personal responsibility, faith in our institutions, faith in ourselves demand that we recognize the new terms of the old social contract. We shall fulfill them, as we fulfilled the obligation of the apparent Utopia which Jefferson imagined for us in 1776, and which Jefferson, Roosevelt and Wilson sought to bring to realization. We must do so, lest a rising tide of misery, engendered by our common failure, engulf us all. But failure is not an American habit; and in the strength of great hope we must all shoulder our common load.

The state and the world

THIS section is concerned with an absorbing problem: What should be the relationship between the United States and the world? The personal discovery which initiates this discussion differs somewhat from the earlier ones in Part Three. It is an account of what an observant British visitor, Denis W. Brogan, saw and thought as he viewed life in a midwestern town and in a midwestern city in 1936 and later. The three selections which follow present two contrasting views of world organization. Allen W. Dulles and Beatrice Pitney Lamb support the United Nations. Thereafter, youthful Harris Wofford, Jr., and the older writer, E. B. White, speak for world federation—using arguments and appeals which you will find interesting to compare and contrast. Supplementary considerations of the problem of this section include: "A Moral Case for the West," page 49; "The World at the Crossroads," page 62; "The Panama Canal Tolls," page 70; and "Churchill True to Form," page 72.

DENIS W. BROGAN America and the world

A personal discovery

"The American is a new man who acts on new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas and form new opinions."—J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur.

IN THE LATE SUMMER of 1936, I arrived in Kansas City (Missouri). When I tried to buy a ticket for St. Louis at the Union Station, I was interrogated in a friendly, American fashion by the ticket clerk. "You from Europe?" "Yes." "Well, don't go back—it's going to Hell." I was more than half-convinced that he was right—although I was going back. A month or so before, I had lain on the shore in Somerset on a Sunday evening and had been aroused from day-dreaming by a noise in the air and a swirl of excitement around me. Above, magnificent, serene, and ominous was a Zeppelin, moving east. It was low and clearly seen; a day before, it had been in New York; by tomorrow's dawn it would be in Frankfort. The swastika was plainly visible as it moved on, over Glastonbury where, the legend runs, Joseph of Arimathea had brought the Holy Thorn and built the first Chris-

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tian church in Britain. A shadow was crossing England: women on the beach looked at their children—with a faint and how inadequate perception of what was soon to befall Bristol where they came from. How remote it all seemed in the hot sun of western Missouri, how remote it was even from me, and how much more remote from the people of Midwest America, with fifteen hundred miles each way between them and the oceans, with the huge war memorial outside the station to remind the citizens of Kansas City of their first adventure overseas and to confirm their resolution that it would be the last.

I went a day or two later to see a friend of mine who lives in a small town in Illinois. We went together to the corner drugstore to get ice cream for supper. It was a scene familiar enough to me and familiar to all movie-goers—the Main Street of a small American town on a Saturday night in late summer. The boys and girls were there in their white summer clothes; there were endless cars; it was possible that here, as in other American towns like this, it was thought more important to have a car which is a public asset than a bathroom which is private. There was over the street and over the town that indefinable American air of happiness and ease, at least for the young. There was that general friendliness and candor. Here, as much as in the Bowery of which he was the Boss, men and women were acting on the principle laid down by Big Tim Sullivan, "God and the People hate a chesty man."

People called each other by their "given names"; there were friendly inquiries and a few introductions of the visitor. It was a world in which the ominous word "stranger" had been given a friendly flavor. "Howdy, Stranger" is not a hostile greeting, and it was invented in America. Looking at the people, at the boys and girls milling round the drugstores, disappearing in cars that shot off into the warm, welcoming darkness, it was hard to remember the tension of English life, the worse tension of French life. Life, it is true, was not altogether easy and agreeable for these people. Those who had definitely put youth behind them showed signs of fatigue and worry. They had reason. This was a farm town and the farmers had had a bad time. Some, not very far away, were still having a bad time. Across the Missouri it was a drought year. In Emporia, Kansas, it was still doubtful, so William Allen White had told me, whether they could reopen the local normal college that Fall. There might not be enough water. All that region had been badly hit by very bad times, by crop failures, by bank failures. But there was still an impression of hope, of recovery. There was an air of confident adaptation to their way of life in the dress, the speech, the manners of the young. This, if a world they had not made, was yet a world that seemed to have been made for them.

In the drugstore there was the usual stock of gadgets, of remedies for all ills. There were soft drinks, no hard liquor; but there was—most impressive sight of all—a book and magazine section. There were the books of the films; there was the book of the year or decade (it was the first year of *Gone with the Wind*). If you wanted to know about dressmaking, about cosmetics, about domestic management, about love, about astrology, about business success, about child training, about how to be happy on a small income (the answer being usually a way to make it large), the printed oracles were there. And the spoken oracles, too, for radios blasted the soft summer night and the heat did not empty the movie house.

And it was all American—even the guiding stars. The advertisements, the gadgets, the radio programs, the movies, the patent medicines, the patent solutions to human woes—all were American, or almost all. There might be in the advertising sections some sales talk for English biscuits or French perfume or Scotch whisky. There might be in the movie house a travelogue by Fitzpatrick; there might be in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* a cartoon by a greater Fitzpatrick bringing home the bitter truth about the outer world. No doubt some residents in the town had traveled (my host had). Perhaps the librarian or the English teacher had told the women's club of a tour in England or the "colorful Caribbean." Some veterans had memories of France.

The regional press was already doing a first-class job, a better job than was being done by most English papers, to awaken the people to the truth of the new iron age that we were all living in, to the significance of Manchukuo, to the menace of international war in Spain. Perhaps, the Parent-Teachers' Association had asked for more instruction in civics and in current affairs. Certainly, appeals for charity, for Chinese, or for Spaniards had been or would be answered as soon as made.

But in the warmth and ease of that summer night, the inevitable, the right, the human character of American natural isolationism was brought home to me. The road from Jerusalem to Jericho did not pass close to southern Illinois, as it did southern England, and there was no visible good Samaritan in Illinois—or in England—to shame Priest or Levite.

Their great highway was the Mississippi; for its control a long and bloody war had been fought and won. From that state had come the leader of the victorious party, but Lincoln was long dead and deified in his tomb a hundred or so miles to the north in Springfield. The whole region had once been a great international prize, but it was a century and a half since George Rogers Clark had seized the little French settlements of Kaskaskia and the rest from the English. It was over a century, too, since his brother William and Meriwether Lewis had marched west at the orders of President Jefferson, making for the Pacific, preparing the road maps of "manifest destiny."

It was a generation since Henry Adams had brought his sophistication and his bile to the St. Louis Exposition and thought out again the problem of what makes and moves and unites societies, what was alike and unlike in Chartres in 1200 and in St. Louis in 1904—"the Virgin and the Dynamo." But in 1936, it was the calm, dead center of a tornado whose outer boundaries were too far away for comprehension or apprehension.

There was no way in which the inevitable, deplorable, maddening impact of the outside world on Illinois and on the whole Mississippi Valley could be brought home to the dwellers therein. If men and women in England in 1938 could profess to believe in "peace in our time," why should not these happy Americans believe with far more plausibility in peace in their time—for them? Yet in less than six years, German submarines were sinking American ships in the mouth of that Mississippi secured for the infant United States through the energetic disregard of constitutional proprieties by President Jefferson. And all the considerable cities of the Valley were preparing to defend themselves against air raids, against desperate, forlorn hopes in which the Nazis would strike, whatever the cost, at the most typical, representative, important city of the Midwest—which naturally was Zenith or whatever city was yours.

As the shadow over Europe grew longer and darker, as the darkness was made more terrifying by the whistling with which our leaders tried to keep up their courage and ours, as the chances of peace in Europe became more and more dependent on the temptations of easy victory for Germany, and those temptations more and more controlled by the possible reaction of the American people, the problem of the American temper became more urgent. It was largely a question of time: if the American people had been prepared in 1931 to do what they were prepared to do in 1939, if they had been as ready in 1939 as they were in 1941 for the dangers of the time! But it is an endless sequence of ifs that it is not very profitable to follow out. What is more profitable is to try to make plain how natural, how justifiable, how given by historical conditions was the tempo of American awakening, the slow acceptance of the fact that the shadow cast over Somerset was also cast over Illinois. It took the actual shadow, repeated again and again, to awaken Somerset; Illinois had to awaken with far less help from the eye and ear.

But it was not only Illinois. All over the United States there was the same life, conditioned by the same history, by an experience in which the outside world grew more and more remote, backward, barbarous, and—so it was thought—relatively weak. On the new concrete roads, new-model cars made American nomadism the expression of American civilization. "God's Country"—as the song put it—was the country of the Lincoln Highway. Into the great inland nodal points the trains poured: Illinois Central; New York

Central; Union Pacific; Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul; Père Marquette; Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. But only a few Canadian trains in the north, only a few Mexican trains in the south, to recall the outside world, and doing it not much more effectually than an occasional Rolls-Royce or Duesenberg or Hispano-Suiza lost among the Lincolns, Packards, Buicks, Chevrolets, Fords. The air was getting fuller of passenger planes; the air ports more numerous and more splendid. And it was as natural, though as wrong, to think of the new technique as an American invention and practically an American monopoly, as to think of Colonel Lindbergh as the first man to fly the Atlantic.

What could it mean to the remote villages of the South, to the people who worshipped in those little wooden churches with their odd, pathetic, and fantastically ugly imitations of stained glass? Did it matter to them that the French had put an aerodrome beside Chartres Cathedral, and that the latest addition to the inscriptions at that place was an appeal for volunteers to join the organization that would move the Chartres stained glass to a safe place when the inevitable war (that no one would would admit or deny was coming) yet came? This region had had its war, its record of destruction; and its wounds, material and spiritual, were still bleeding.

Yet that region, in five years' time, was beginning to send its volunteers via Canada, to fight in defense of that Wells Cathedral over which the Zeppelin had serenely passed.

What could it matter to the *Canadiens* of New England? What did it matter to them that the country that had expelled the *Acadiens* and conquered the *Canadiens* was in danger and, with it, the ancestral land that had abandoned the good ways of old France and no longer had enough sons to guard her fields? In less than six years' time the New England coast was beleaguered by submarines, and their kinsmen from across the border were dying first at Dieppe and then in a heroic assault outside Ortona.

What did it matter to the less energetic fugitives from a New York winter I saw a few months later, who, resisting any temptation to take a ski train up to the White Mountains, took a train bound for Florida? Yet inside five years, the submarines of the enemy were cruising in impudent immunity within rifle shot of the pleasure cities where the tourists lay on the sand, or profited and lost in Colonel Bradley's hospitable gambling houses.

I remembered, too, the long controversy over bridging San Francisco Bay, the doubts of the War and Navy Departments about the wisdom of building such vulnerable structures across the entrance to a great naval base. Such fears had seemed purely fantastic, purely pedantic. Yet within three years of the celebration of the completion of the bridges, the dead and wounded from Pearl Harbor were being brought ashore in San Francisco. And, a few

months later, I stood in the living-room of a friend's house looking straight into the Golden Gate and wondering, like other people, how the great naval battle of the Coral Sea was going and whether the Japanese would risk putting a carrier or two into the permanent summer fog belt and bomb San Francisco as they had bombed Pearl Harbor. I remembered, too, how I had first seen Seattle, taken over by invading Lions or Elks or Moose or Eagles, and how I had next seen it, with a solitary barrage balloon (from London) floating over the air port, curiously homely and comforting to a passenger who had just seen the great ice fields and glaciers of Mount Rainier below him and had need of something to restore a human sense of scale.

Our fate, the fate of civilization in Europe, the fate of constitutional freedom in America are and were bound up with the defeat of a self-confident, energetic, efficient, and ruthless political and military system that denies our premises and dislikes and despises our aims. This was true in 1936; it is true in 1944. It was the meaning of the shadow cast over England. But that shadow was not cast in such dramatic form over America.

What could this growing shadow mean to the people of Utah? It was nearly a century since the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints had crossed the prairies and the plains to the great empty basin of the Great Salt Lake. Nearly a century had passed since they had made their Exodus, since they had been saved from the crickets by the seagulls sent by God to preserve his chosen people. I had seen the monument to the seagull; I had seen the irrigated fields and fertile valleys redeemed from the wilderness; I had heard the hymn of the new Israel, the Mormon version of the Hundred and Fifth Psalm: "Unto thee will I give the land of Canaan, the lot of your inheritance." The old bloody feuds, the murder of the Prophet, the vengeance of the Destroying Angels, were half forgotten by the people who sang "Come, come, ye Saints." Isolated in the great, empty basin, shut in by mountains on all sides, living in the land they had made; with their own, exclusive version of world history to cut them off from the fears and hopes of the outside world, what could Hitler mean to them? Yet in a few years' time, not merely were their sons sent to all corners of the world, but the needs of war economy were transforming Deseret as it had not been transformed since the railroads brought in Gentiles to the kingdom of Brigham Young.

What, I more than once reflected, could all this mean to the shepherds of New Mexico who elected Dennis Chavez of Los Chavez ("Chavez of that ilk," as they would say in Scotland) to the United States Senate? "The blood of the conquerors," to use Harvey Fergusson's phrase, no doubt ran in their veins; so did the blood of the conquered. But that last outpost of New Spain had been for long so peaceful! The Comanches had been tamed, and the

bloody memory of the seventeenth-century Indian rising that had for twelve years turned the little capital of Santa Fe into a heathen town, was faint, today. The austere and bare mountains of the Sangre de Cristo above the stripling Rio Grande del Norte were as strange as ever to European eyes, as strange as they must have been to Miss Willa Cather's hero when the future Archbishop came to them a century ago, from the strange but not arid, not empty mountains of Auvergne. Peace had at last come to Santa Fe and to Taos. But in less than six years from that summer, there fell on the little cities and villages of New Mexico the catastrophe, the heroic disaster of Bataan. For the local National Guard had been mobilized and sent off to the Philippines, and boys who had known nothing of the outer world died in gallant defense of another relic of the Christian empire of Philip II and Philip III—the Commonwealth of the Philippines, reunited with New Mexico in a common destiny by the power of the United States.

ALLEN W. DULLES and BEATRICE PITNEY LAMB

The United Nations

Main outlines of the United Nations system

THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER provides for six main instruments of action. First there is the GENERAL ASSEMBLY, composed of representatives of all the member states, now 51 in number. This is the central deliberative body of the United Nations. Secondly there is the SECURITY COUNCIL, composed of 11 member states, which is entrusted with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Operating under the general direction of the General Assembly, an ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL has the responsibility for economic, social, and cultural matters. A TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL will deal with non-self-governing territories. An international SECRETARIAT is to furnish the permanent staff for the various policy-making bodies of the United Nations. And finally, there is the INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE for the settlement of legal disputes between nations. Subordinate to these various organs there are a host of commissions, committees, and sub-committees to handle specific tasks—including, for example, the vitally important commission to deal with the control of atomic energy, and the Commission on Human Rights.

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Also part of the United Nations in a wide sense are the SPECIALIZED AGENCIES. These are autonomous inter-governmental organizations dealing with special fields such as health, labor, agriculture, education, trade, banking, and the like. Though the specialized agencies have their own constitutions, membership, and governing bodies, they are specifically recognized in the Charter as being part of the United Nations system.

1. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly of the U.N. serves as a sounding board for the expression of the viewpoints of all nations. It may discuss any question "within the scope of the Charter" or relating to the powers and functions of any of the other organs of the United Nations. It may also make recommendations to the members of the United Nations and to the Security Council. There is, however, one important exception to these broad powers: namely, that while the Security Council has a dispute or a situation under consideration, the General Assembly may not make recommendations with regard to it unless the Security Council requests it to do so. This does not mean that the General Assembly must refrain from discussing the matter. There is nothing to prevent any delegate in the General Assembly from expressing his views on any subject of interest to his country or the world.

Each member state has one vote in the General Assembly, but it may have as many as five delegates, and of course such political and technical advisers as desired. Decisions on "important questions" require a two-thirds vote, other questions a simple majority. Among the important questions are recommendations as to peace and security, the admission of new members to the United Nations, the suspension or expulsion of members, questions relating to the trusteeship system, and most of the elective functions.

The Assembly's agenda is always to include a report by the Secretary General on the work of the organization as a whole, and special reports from the various organs of the United Nations, such as the Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, and any committees established by the General Assembly. Hence the Assembly can become a general clearing house and board of review for the year's work of the entire United Nations. It has a chance to see this work in some perspective, and if it properly uses its authority and functions, can serve as a guide to direct the work along the lines which experience shows to be the most beneficial and fruitful.

The General Assembly chooses its own officers—a president and seven vice-presidents—who hold office only for one session. Like most deliberative bodies, the General Assembly, while holding plenary sessions, will do much of its work in committees where informal discussions and free give and

take are the rule. In the plenary sessions, the tendency is to be formal, and not infrequently, the Assembly merely gives quick approval to some decision already worked out in committee. Not to be confused with the various permanent organs of the United Nations despite similarity of titles, the six main Assembly committees, as at present constituted, are:

1. Political and Security Committee.
2. Economic and Financial Committee.
3. Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Committee.
4. Trusteeship Committee.
5. Administrative and Budgetary Committee.
6. Legal Committee.

In addition, the Assembly has a General Committee, composed of the President and Vice-Presidents and of the Chairmen of the six committees listed above. This is a steering committee to assist the President in the general conduct of business before the Assembly. It has the important power to determine the priority of items under consideration.

The General Assembly's meetings are open to the public. While it may decide in exceptional cases that a particular meeting shall be private, any decisions upon items on the agenda taken at a private meeting must be announced at a public meeting. Elections, however, are held by secret ballot, and except in the case of the Court, it is not required that nominations be made prior to the balloting. This procedure has been opposed by the Soviet representative on the ground that it tends to lead to the formation of secret blocs and to undercover negotiations among the delegations.

A delegate may address the Assembly in English, French, Russian, Chinese, or Spanish. Translations are made only into French and English, which are called the "working languages." . . .

2. THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council, which is entrusted with the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security," is composed of eleven members. Of these, five are the permanent members named in the Charter: China, France, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and the United States. The other six are elected for two-year terms by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly. The non-permanent members do not all retire at the same time: half of them are elected each year. . . .

Under the Charter, the Council is set up to function continuously. For this purpose, each nation that is a member of the Council must have a permanent representative at the United Nations headquarters. The Council is not obligated to meet every day, but according to its own rules of procedure, it

must meet at least every two weeks. At least twice a year, the Council also is to hold special meetings, attended presumably by prime ministers or foreign ministers who because of their other duties are unable to be present at the regular meetings of the Council.

The main duties of the Council in relation to peace fall under two headings: 1. the pacific settlement of disputes, and 2. enforcement action to prevent or suppress a breach of the peace.

The operations of the Security Council must be viewed in the light of the general obligations contained in Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter. Among other things, these articles contain a pledge that the members will settle their international disputes by peaceful means, that they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, and that they will refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action. . . .

3. THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

The Charter of the United Nations represents an advance over the Covenant of the League in its emphasis upon the importance of economic and social cooperation, and its provision for special instrumentalities to deal with problems in these fields. Much attention has been paid in the press and elsewhere to the activities of the Security Council. Far less attention has been paid to the activities of the United Nations in the economic and social field, which are perhaps even more important from the long-range point of view.

Progress made towards the improvement of economic and social conditions in the member countries tends to develop an atmosphere more favorable for peace, and the experience of working together to solve concrete common problems is the very stuff out of which mutual understanding and tolerance are created.

The Charter states that the objectives of the United Nations in the field of international economic and social cooperation are the promotion of:

a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;
b. solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and
c. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Furthermore, "all members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth" above.

To accomplish these undertakings, an elaborate organizational framework is established. Although the overall supervision is a function of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council bears the major responsibility. This body is to be composed of the representatives of eighteen member nations elected by the General Assembly for three-year terms. Interestingly enough, no provision is made for any permanent members on this Council, and nothing comparable to the veto power exists in connection with its voting. On all questions a straight majority vote suffices. While the Council is due to meet only three times a year, extra sessions may be called if necessary. Because of the multitude of functions which it is to perform, some observers expect it to remain in session almost continuously. The American representative has been appointed to serve on a full-time basis.

Like the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council cannot coerce individual member states, but it is given wide powers to initiate studies and reports, to make recommendations to the General Assembly and to the member nations, to prepare draft treaties, and to call international conferences.

The specialized agencies. A number of fields of activity which are stated in the Charter to be the concern of the United Nations and more particularly of the General Assembly, are to be dealt with not directly by the Assembly or the Economic and Social Council but rather by specialized international organizations established by inter-governmental agreements or charters of their own. These "specialized agencies" are to be brought into harmony with one another and with the United Nations by the action of the Economic and Social Council. Listed alphabetically, important agencies existing or in the process of formation include the following:

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
International Labor Organization (ILO)
International Monetary Fund
International Refugee Organization (IRO)
International Trade Organization (ITO)
Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization (PICAO)
United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
World Health Organization (WHO)

The interconnection of the fields of interest of these various agencies is quite apparent. To cite just one example, if the Food and Agriculture Organization is to succeed in one of its tasks—the improving of methods of agricultural production in backward areas—large international credits will

probably be needed for such purposes as land reclamation, irrigation, and better agricultural implements. But if such credits and loans are to be made, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development may have to play a part. Another instance—the International Labor Organization is interested in raising labor standards the world over, but the level which labor standards can attain depends in large measure upon the degree of prosperity, and this in turn depends to considerable extent on world trade conditions, with which the International Trade Organization will be concerned. These conditions in turn depend in considerable measure upon the stability of international exchanges, which is the concern of the International Monetary Fund. Thus the policies of each of the "specialized agencies" may depend for their fulfillment on the actions of others of the specialized agencies. . . .

4. THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Chapters XI and XII of the Charter deal with non-self-governing territories, both those placed under the new trusteeship system and those which retain their colonial status. While popular attention is often focused on the trusteeship system which replaces the old mandate system of the League of Nations, it would be a mistake not to give equal attention to the important provisions of Chapter XI which deals with those dependent peoples who do not come under the trusteeship of the United Nations. . . .

5. THE SECRETARIAT

The League of Nations made a signal advance over all previous attempts at international cooperation through the establishment of a permanent "Secretariat," or staff, to carry out the will of the organization as expressed in the meetings of its Assembly and Council. Various international conventions entered into prior to the League of Nations had proved ineffective in large part, because of the lack of any staff to take care of details connected with their execution. In many cases, such conventions require of the signatory states a series of detailed steps, any one of which might easily be overlooked. Often, the failure of nations to do their part in the carrying out of such provisions was due to inadvertence, rather than deliberate ill-will; no one had called the attention of the proper government official to action due to be taken.

The experience of the League of Nations indicates that an international secretariat offers great promise for the future. Particularly in the early days of the League, the Secretariat was composed of a group of men with a truly international outlook, no longer the servants of any one country but rather of the community of the nations as a whole. Properly chosen, directed, and led—and sincerely supported by member governments—a secretariat can do

much towards the development of an international point of view and a feeling of solidarity between nations.

The Secretary-General and his staff. The provisions in the Charter regarding the Secretariat are quite brief. It is to comprise a Secretary-General and such staff as the organization may require. The Secretary-General is appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The Secretary-General is the chief administrative officer of the organization and is to act in that capacity at all meetings of the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the Trusteeship Council. He is to make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the organization. He is to appoint the needed staff under regulations established by the General Assembly, and to assign appropriate staffs to help the work of each of the organs of the United Nations.

The Secretary-General is appointed for five years and is eligible for reappointment for a further five-year term. The man chosen by the General Assembly in January 1946 to be the first Secretary-General is Trygve Lie, Norwegian Foreign Minister and head of the Norwegian delegation to the London Assembly. Born in Oslo fifty years ago, the son of a carpenter, Trygve Lie has been associated with the Norwegian Labor Party ever since he secured a job with it as office boy in order to work his way through college. After graduating from Oslo University Law School, he became Secretary-General of the party and later its legal adviser. Since the Labor Party came into power in 1935, he held a number of cabinet positions, first as Minister of Justice, then as Minister of Commerce, and finally as Foreign Minister.

Under Article 99 the Secretary-General is given one very important power which the Secretary-General of the League of Nations did not have. He himself on his own initiative may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which, in his opinion, may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. Under the rules of procedure adopted after several months of experience, the Secretary-General was specifically authorized to be heard or to submit memoranda on any matters before the Council.

Quite apart from his specific powers the Secretary-General is in a position to exercise real influence over all of the organs of the United Nations. League experience shows that when a council, committee or commission fails to make progress on matters which are supposedly before it, the submission of factual material by the Secretariat is one way of prodding it into greater activity.

Furthermore, if the Secretary-General succeeds in retaining the confidence of the member nations, if he seems to them truly international in his approach, he will be in a position to make informal suggestions as to possible ways of handling matters under discussion. He can suggest compromises and techniques of dealing with questions which may end deadlocks. Many of his activities in this regard may never appear in the official record, but

none the less his ability or inability to function in this way may be one of the determining factors in the success or lack of success of the organization.

Departments. Under the direction of the Secretary-General, the Secretariat of the United Nations is divided into the following eight departments, each in charge of an Assistant Secretary-General:

Department of Security Council Affairs.
Department of Economic Affairs.
Department of Social Affairs.
Department for Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.
Department of Public Information.
Legal Department.
Conference and General Services.
Administrative and Financial Services.

When these departments are fully constituted it is expected that the Secretariat will number over two thousand. . . .

6. THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

The sixth and last main body of the United Nations is the International Court of Justice, closely modeled after its predecessor, the Permanent Court of International Justice which existed at The Hague throughout the inter-war period as part of the League system. All members of the United Nations are automatically members of the International Court.

The Court is declared to be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. But it would be misleading to think of it as a court comparable in its functions to the supreme court of a nation. For there are certain very definite limitations on what it may do. For one thing, it does not have the right to act as the final interpreter of the meaning of the Charter. Secondly, only states, not individuals, may be parties to cases before the Court. Thus it does not have jurisdiction over individuals. Actions of individuals in violation of the law of nations could not come before it, nor could financial claims of individuals for damages done them by the governments of other countries. Thirdly, legal disputes between members of the United Nations do not automatically come before it. It does not have jurisdiction unless *both* parties agree to refer to it the case in question. The Statute or constitution of the Court contains, however, a provision that individual nations may at any time declare that they will recognize the Court's jurisdiction as compulsory in all legal disputes involving a state accepting a like obligation and concerning:

a. the interpretation of a treaty,
b. any question of international law,

c. the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation, and
d. the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

At the present time, approximately twenty of the United Nations have accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court, and measures are now pending before our Congress, approved by the Administration, to have the United States added to the list. Furthermore, under a considerable number of international treaties drawn up in the inter-war period, the parties to treaties agreed that they would refer to the old Court any questions arising as to the interpretation of the treaty. The new Court is to receive any cases which would have been referred to the old Court under such provisions.

Though nations are not always bound to bring cases before the Court or to submit to the Court's jurisdiction, nevertheless, once they have done so, they are bound by the Charter to abide by the Court's decision. If a nation fails to carry out a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may complain to the Security Council, which may decide upon measures to give effect to the judgment. . . .

7. REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

When the Charter was being drafted, the point was frequently made that in certain kinds of situations, particularly in the pacific settlement of disputes, a regional organization might possibly do a better job in maintaining the peace than could the United Nations itself, or might supplement the action of the United Nations. Accordingly, the Charter permits the existence of regional organizations within the framework of the United Nations and provides that "the Security Council shall encourage the development of the pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements," but that "the Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements. . . ." On occasions, the Security Council may also use such agencies "for enforcement action under its authority," but no such action may be taken without the express authorization of the Security Council.

An exception to this is permitted, however, by the fact that "collective self-defense" is specifically allowed under the Charter. Thus nations with close ties may use "collective self-defense" at their own discretion or in the event of an armed attack, if the Council has not yet acted, and providing that they report their action to the Council immediately afterward.

One regional organization now in existence is the Arab League. Another is the inter-American system which the United States Government is very much interested in maintaining and strengthening. Just how their relation-

ship to the United Nations will work out in actual practice remains to be seen. There is, of course, the likelihood that any marked strengthening of regional ties might be interpreted by other countries as the formation of a hostile bloc; and it may not prove entirely easy to keep the purposes and objectives of regional agencies in harmony with the United Nations.

8. ATOM CONTROL

The United Nations faces no single problem of greater magnitude than that of the control of atomic energy. So far as the machinery for dealing with this complex problem is concerned, a first step was taken by the General Assembly in January 1946. At that time it established an Atomic Energy Commission to be composed of representatives of states members of the Security Council, plus Canada. The Commission is to report to the Security Council and be under the direction of the Security Council. It is to inquire into all phases of the problem and make recommendations, especially in regard to:

1. Extending between all nations an exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends.
2. Control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes.
3. The elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction.
4. Effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect the complying States against the hazards of violations and divisions.

Some delegates expressed the view that the composition of the Commission set up by the Resolution should be such as to make it more representative of the United Nations as a whole, and concern was also expressed over the fact that the membership of the Commission would change whenever there was a change of the non-permanent members of the Security Council. The role of the Commission is to make recommendations to the Security Council, but as the membership of the two bodies is almost identical, what the Commission has to recommend will probably be the decisive word on the subject.

The problem of controlling weapons of warfare is one that has so far eluded the ingenuity of man, and we should be careful not to expect a commission to produce overnight some miraculous formula which would end our well-justified fears as to the possible future uses of atomic energy. Various suggestions have been made for the international control of this energy, but none are perfect. In the first place, it has been advocated that all nations should renounce for the future the use of atomic energy in warfare. The

difficulty with this is that, although various other weapons have been outlawed in the past, they have nevertheless sometimes been used.

An international inspection system is another possibility often discussed, but unless its scope can be limited and defined, worldwide inspection would prove a Herculean task. Further, to be successful, it would require the honest, whole-hearted support of the governments of all states where there is any possibility that atomic energy could be developed.

As the United States is certainly in the lead in the development of atomic energy and is very probably the only nation which has any atomic bombs, the world has naturally looked to us to lead off with proposals as to how the atomic menace is to be met. How long we would hold any such advantage over other nations is a point on which scientists conjecture and also differ, many of them placing it anywhere from three to fifteen years. What is important is not the difference in the time period, but the practical certainty that the scientists of countries other than Great Britain and Canada, which already share the secret with us, will eventually arrive at, and put into effect, the same scientific and technical conclusions which our own scientists have reached under the pressure of the war emergency.

Conscious of this situation and of our responsibility because of our present technical advantage, the United States has come forward with proposals. A first series of proposals which represented a concrete and important advance was contained in the Acheson-Lilienthal Report, published in March 1946 by our own State Department. . . .

9. REGULATION OF ARMAMENTS

The discouraging experience of the League of Nations in dealing with the problem of disarmament, which was one of the cornerstones of the Covenant, obviously had its effect upon the drafters of the United Nations Charter, and is doubtless in part responsible for the modest provisions of the Charter as contrasted with the strong language of the League Covenant on the subject. This time security receives more emphasis than disarmament.

Another factor was doubtless the general feeling of ignorance as to the type of arms which we should now strive to control. After the last war the disarmament conferences concentrated on manpower, on heavy artillery, and above all on naval vessels, whose existence and size admitted of control and regulation. Today, these elements are only a part of the story. Even if they could be regulated our problem would not be solved, for large areas of potential military power would be left unregulated.

Under the Charter, the General Assembly is to consider the general principles governing disarmament, while the Security Council, working with the assistance of its Military Staff Committee, is to submit actual plans for the

establishment of a system for the "regulation of armaments and possible disarmament."

If some progress can be made toward the control of atomic energy, possibly the same techniques could be applied to the control of other types of armament. After all, it will be no consolation to be assured that danger of death from atomic bombs has been minimized but that the field is still open for every other type of death from the air.

The attempt through the ages to make war more humane, or to reduce its scope by weakening the weapons of war, has proved largely futile. The United Nations Charter, in effect, recognizes this. It is a waste of time to try to regulate war; our efforts should be concentrated on trying to prevent it. . . .

10. MEMBERSHIP

The original members of the United Nations are those states which signed the United Nations Declaration of January 1, 1942, twenty-six in number, the twenty-one states which subsequently adhered to the Declaration prior to March 1, 1945, when the lists were closed, and the Argentine, Denmark, Byelorussia and the Ukraine, which were represented at the San Francisco Conference. These states, fifty-one in all, have now ratified the United Nations Charter and are full-fledged members.

Two chief categories of states remain outside the United Nations, (1) the neutrals and (2) the former Axis powers plus their satellites and certain of their victims: Germany, Italy and Japan, plus Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland and Albania (which is pressing for admission), and Siam in the Far East, to list the chief states in this second category.

Most of the ex-enemy states would welcome admission as soon as the United Nations is willing to accord it, but at the time of the Potsdam Conference it was agreed that their admission should await the conclusion of peace treaties. The problem of peacemaking, which might to some extent devolve upon the United Nations if these states were now admitted, has been wisely left to diplomatic and conference channels and is not a United Nations responsibility. . . .

11. AMENDING THE CHARTER

The process of amending the Charter is not an easy one. All amendments must go through two separate processes.

In the first place they must be "adopted." This can be done in either of two ways—by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly, or by a two-thirds vote of a General Conference called together for the specific purpose of considering amendments to the Charter. In itself, the decision to hold such

a conference requires a two-thirds vote of the Assembly plus the approval of any seven members of the Security Council. To promote reconsideration of the Charter at the end of ten years, however, there is a provision that at that time a majority instead of a two-thirds vote of the Assembly will suffice to call a conference.

After amendments have been "approved" in either of the above ways they must be submitted to the member nations for ratification. They will come into force only after they have been ratified by two-thirds of the member nations, including all five permanent members of the Security Council. Within each member nation, of course, the action required for ratification would depend upon the constitutional processes of that nation. In the United States, presumably, amendments to the Charter would require the same approval as international treaties—namely, a two-thirds vote of the Senate and signature by the President.

Clearly an amendment could easily be blocked at any one of a number of different stages in the process of approval and ratification. There has been much talk of the ease with which the Soviet Government could impede the development of the United Nations, but it should not be forgotten that one-third of the members of the United States Senate could likewise prevent the adoption of any amendment, even one that had received the overwhelming approval of all the other member nations.

World government or the United Nations

CRITICISM OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER stems from two very different quarters. There still remain those isolationists who are skeptical of any world organization and skeptical of cooperation with other nations. They are the remnant of those who fought the League of Nations, who fought lend-lease and any steps leading to American participation in the war prior to Pearl Harbor. Today the voices of these critics are stilled, but they remain a latent danger, ready to assert themselves if they should find signs of failure or disintegration in the ranks of the United Nations.

ADVOCATES OF WORLD GOVERNMENT

On the other flank, there are critics of the United Nations who are today more vocal. Their position is that the United Nations does not go far enough, that no league of sovereign states can meet the needs of the world today, and that we must proceed immediately to transform the United Nations into a world government. These critics go on to say that the United Nations is merely the old League of Nations under a new name, and will be shipwrecked on this same rock of unrestricted sovereignty.

Able and conscientious men have joined the World Government move-

ment and they have presented their case widely. Their thesis deserves consideration and analysis.

Obviously, the conception of a world government under which all peoples would accept the authority of one central body is an appealing idea. The problem facing these advocates is to get their idea down to earth in some concrete form. Certain prominent figures in this group have attempted to do this in proposals for the amendment of the United Nations Charter, adopted in principle at a conference held at Dublin, N.H., in October 1945.

This conference was sponsored and attended by forty-seven private individuals. Of these, thirty signed a majority report urging the United States to lead a movement to promote world government, either through the United Nations, or a world constitutional convention called outside the United Nations framework. Five more agreed with this proposal, but urged a "nuclear" union should be formed of those nations where individual liberties exist.

SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS TO THE CHARTER

Following the Dublin conference a petition was submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations urging certain amendments to the Charter of the United Nations. First, "Instead of an Assembly in which the smallest and weakest country has an equal voice with the most populous or the most powerful," the petition urged that the Assembly should be reconstituted upon the principle of weighted or balanced representation—each member to be represented "in proportion, not only to its population but also in relation to such factors as resources, production and current ability to contribute to world order and progress." In the second place, they asked that the delegates to it should be selected not by the governments of the member nations, but should be chosen directly by the peoples of the world through elections participated in by all the voters qualified to elect members of the national parliament in their own countries. Furthermore, these delegates, or rather representatives, should be free to vote as individuals and not as representatives of their individual countries.

Pending a final apportionment, it was proposed that the U.S.S.R. (including Byelorussia and the Ukraine), the United Kingdom and the Dominions, and the United States (plus the Philippines), should each have 65 representatives; China and France 25; Netherlands 12; Belgium, Brazil and Poland 9; Argentina 8; Czechoslovakia and Mexico 7. The remaining 31 of the 51 members of the United Nations would have between them 61 representatives, making 367 representatives in all.

The petition also asked that the Assembly be given wider and more important powers and be permitted definitely to legislate "by binding enact-

ment" on matters "plainly and directly related to the prevention of war." Under these proposals the authority now vested in the Security Council would be transferred to the Assembly, and the Security Council would be made an executive committee of the Assembly, rather than an independent body with independent authority.

REQUISITES OF WORLD GOVERNMENT

Although the ultimate need for an organization stronger than the United Nations must be clear to any thoughtful observer, the question of what type of organization is realistically possible at the present time is the real issue. Russia is by no means the sole obstacle. There is no indication that American public opinion, for example, would approve the establishment of a super state, or permit American membership in it. In other words, time—a long time—will be needed before world government is politically feasible. Though this time element might seemingly be shortened so far as American opinion is concerned by an active propaganda campaign in this country, there is no similar possibility of affecting the Russian attitude toward world government. Any nuclear union entered into without Russia would, quite naturally, be interpreted by Russia as a coalition against her, would lead to bad relations with her, almost certainly to an atomic armament race, and quite possibly to war.

At any level, government, to be successful, must be based on real foundations, on a feeling of solidarity, on increasing economic, racial, and other ties, on a real consciousness of common goals, and on the experience of working together in many fields of common interest. Such a feeling of solidarity, on the international level, is something that must grow gradually. It is true that certain steps can be taken to promote it. For example, under the United Nations and its specialized agencies, many kinds of activities are now planned or in progress which will give the nations greater experience in working together and which will lead gradually to greater mutual understanding. Given time, these and other common activities should help to build up the necessary basis for world government. But the process of developing a feeling of common interest cannot be quickly realized. A very profound, and hence a very gradual, change must occur before the sovereign states relinquish their sovereignty. In the foreseeable future, no matter what is written on paper, certain states will continue to have great power. Even if it should somehow prove possible to set a world government over them, there is no apparent possibility of that world government enforcing its will if that will proved to be directly counter to the will of any of the major powers. The fact that we might be able to outvote Russia—or any other power for that matter—in a world assembly, does not mean that we could

successfully coerce that power. The attempt to do so would result in civil war within the world government. There is no reason to believe that such a war would be even slightly less disastrous than an international war of the kind that remains so dreadfully possible.

One dangerous aspect of the world government movement is its tendency to gloss over and minimize the practical difficulties that would have to be worked out in the setting up of any such scheme. One's own field is never as green as the world government field is made to seem. The United Nations encounters difficulties—selfishness, fear, delay, and above all, power politics. Would all these human frailties miraculously disappear in a world government? Ordinary mortals guide the destinies of the United Nations and no paper agreement to limit sovereignty would bring a race of perfect men into existence to guide our destinies. Nor would any world parliament be free of minor squabblings over petty advantages unless the men elected to it would do what neither our representatives in the United Nations, nor our Congressmen, nor we ourselves always succeeded in doing—keep steadily in mind the long-range common objectives so easily obscured by divergent immediate interests.

Like most panaceas, the world government program tends to deflect time, energy and attention away from where it is sorely needed—away from the hard, perplexing, knotty immediate problems of the unsatisfactorily real world in which we live. It tends to transport us in a leap to an imaginary world where we would certainly like to be, but to which we can progress in reality only by the solution of problems still more difficult than those right before us. We would all certainly like to be in a world where there was sufficient feeling of common interest and mutual trust so that a world government could have some foundations and some chance of success. It is easy to draw up, on paper, constitutions to fit such a world. It is less easy to create the necessary feeling of common interest and mutual trust.

Systems of governments by themselves do not create peace and the will to cooperate. It is the other way around. Peace and the will to cooperate must come first. Then the establishment of government inevitably follows.

IS OUR OWN HISTORY A PARALLEL?

The world government advocates continually cite our early experience under the Articles of Confederation as contrasted with the Federal Constitution. What they do not point out is the development of the feeling of common interest under the Articles of Confederation which made not only possible, but also logical and even inevitable, the adoption of the Federal Constitution. True, the states under the Articles of Confederation had their squabbles and seemed to some contemporary observers impossibly far apart

in their interests. But they had a common language, a common culture, a common country of origin, and also economic and political ties of increasing importance. It was these that made the Constitution possible, desirable, and effective.

The British Commonwealth of Nations is, after all, a league of states. Though loose in its form of government, it has shown great powers of maintaining peace, order and cooperation among its members. The necessary common ties were there—language, democratic institutions, and a common culture. Even under a supposedly loose form of confederation, peace, cooperation and orderly relations have existed within the British Commonwealth.

Insofar as world government advocates tend to focus thinking on an ultimate objective which must surely be borne in mind, they no doubt perform a very real service, but unfortunately their criticisms of the United Nations in some instances have the effect of making people so discouraged with it that they will not give it the support necessary to enable it to achieve even the limited degree of effectiveness of which it is capable. Thus, the indirect result of the world government argument all too often is to weaken, not strengthen, the one organization which we actually have. Indeed, although the more responsible advocates of world government usually urge that we work towards it *through* the United Nations—by attempting gradually to strengthen and develop the United Nations—some extremists advocate abandoning the United Nations as hopeless. "There is an atom bomb in the world," they say; "there is not time to work through the United Nations." By that same token, there is an atom bomb in the world, there is not time to work for world government, which practically every informed person agrees could not soon be established.

THE UNITED NATIONS—A CHALLENGE

We cannot wait for years to develop a new organization to deal with the immediate complex problems confronting us including control of atomic energy. Today we have only one organization and that is the United Nations. We may be able to reform and strengthen it in time. We can possibly amend its Charter and cure its defects over the years. We cannot substitute for it today, tomorrow, or for many weary years, another and possibly more perfect organization. Today more than ever there is the need to grapple directly with the problems and difficulties of the organization which we have at hand. There is the need to work steadily and courageously within the framework of the United Nations, neither hoping for impossible utopias nor giving up too soon the admittedly difficult attempt to achieve international cooperation, even with our present imperfect institutions and our equally imperfect human nature.

HARRIS WOFFORD, JR.

The road to world government

THE ATOMS CHALLENGE us to the job which the Air Age has for years heralded: building a World Federal Democracy. The earth will be governed or it will be blown up; united or destroyed. Either World Union will come by law or it will come by force. Either free men think through the present world crises and act successfully in time, or the Caesars coming to take over the world will be next continent or next door.

If we clearly understand our goal to build the Federal World Republic then the next problem is to determine how to achieve it in time. Only by realizing how far we have to go and by fully understanding the present state of the world, will we be able to plan the road to the future World State.

In the dawning days of the Atomic Age, a medieval world was brought to light.

In a world where the atomic bomb had blasted the notion of absolute national sovereignty back into the Middle Ages, nationalism was on the upsurge all over the earth.

In a world where the idea of a voluntary League had been tried and found wanting time and time again until it meant nothing to anyone, the diplomats had re-created a new League of Sovereign Nations.

In a world tired of quarrels and crises between ambassadors and foreign ministers, the first Big-Five foreign ministers' meeting held in London broke down in utter disagreement.

In a world where the common people everywhere demanded self-government, the colonial powers were attempting to reinstate their antiquated empires. In a world tired of wars and tired of imperialism, British, Dutch and French armies fought to suppress the revolts in Indonesia and French Indo-China. Rival Chinese armies clashed in civil war with each other.

In a world sick and tired of armaments races, by 1946 history's most terrible secret arms race was in progress, with nations frantically attempting to produce atomic bombs and with the United States hurriedly hiding stockpiles of these bombs.

In a world sick of secrecy and suspicion, armies of foreign spies were being trained by the major nations, and undercover hunts for uranium deposits were underway all around the earth. In secret laboratories all over the globe thousands of scientists were experimenting with atomic fission. Whether some of these laboratories would produce more terrible bombs or would accidentally set off a chain-reaction which would destroy the outer-rim of the earth, the atmosphere and every living creature—no one knew.

Above all these things there became evident a tragic drift toward World War III. The United States and the colonial powers found themselves drifting toward war against the Soviet Union and Asia. Russia feared that she would always be voted down by the rest of the world and she did not like it. Asia had long waited for the United States to oppose imperialism and the United States did nothing. Asia did not like it. . . .

By Christmas 1945 fear and indecision gripped mankind. The prospects for peace on earth and goodwill among men had never been blacker in all of history.

Only a miracle bringing about a world government could end the fear. A real World Federal Democracy would harness the atom for peace, make wars improbable, bring an end to imperialism, and arouse the common peoples everywhere to strive for a new age of freedom, security, and progress.

But was the twentieth century the time for overnight miracles? People who thought that such a giant deed might be accomplished in the immediate future looked to two sources—to the two giant powers on the earth with the required prestige, resources, and strength; to the Soviet Union and the United States.

Could either Russia or America miraculously lead the world to Union in this decade under the pressure of fear or atomic disaster? No one who desires a miracle should say that it is impossible, but the prospects for it seem very dim.

The Soviet Union, though having won the admiration of the common peoples everywhere because of its glorious victories, its democratic racial practices, its opposition to colonial imperialism and Franco and Argentinian fascism, still could not today offer a common basis of government upon which to unite with the rest of the world.

The Communist party runs Russia as a complete political dictatorship, a socialist totalitarian state. Undoubtedly, most Russian Communists would consider only one kind of true World State: a socialist, Communist-controlled international soviet government. That was long the dream of many of the men in the Kremlin. They know that at the present moment most nations would refuse to enter such a World Soviet Union, so they seem to be prepared to let the rest of the world remain disunited and drift into depression, fear, suspicion, and possible war. Perhaps Russia believes that if mankind starts strangling in international anarchy the time will come when men will turn to the Soviet Union for the basis of a world government.

In any case, twenty-five to fifty years from now Russia, unless it has lagged in scientific development—which is unlikely—will be the strongest industrial and military power on the globe.

Then would be the time for Soviet leadership in the building of a World Soviet Government, and it would be a safe guess that all of Asia and most of Europe would follow that leadership. The Western democracies might choose to remain isolated, but their opportunity would have passed and the world would look to the Kremlin.

No leadership for World Federal Democracy could logically be expected to come from Russia at this time in human history.

Then hope must turn to the United States of America, the nation that for the next twenty-five or fifty years will very likely be the strongest military and industrial power, the nation that today holds the lead in the atomic arms race, and the nation which as the center of the freedom dream still holds the moral leadership of the earth.

In America as yet there appears no political or popular basis for leadership towards world union.

Roosevelt, the master politician, is gone. Willkie, the crusader who stirred the people to the vision of a united world, is silenced. No rallying personality has stepped forward for World Federal Democracy. Only a minority of bold men have called for world government in Congress. No political party yet favors it.

The main issues for Americans in early 1946 were demobilization, higher wages, labor unions, and a scapegoat for Pearl Harbor.

Everyone talked about the atomic bomb and World War III, but it was as if they were discussing the weather, with the same connotation that, after all, there wasn't much one could do about it.

Common people in Europe prayed that America would rise to do something to stop the drift toward war. Patriots in Asia prayed that America would do something to stop imperialism. The world turned to the United States—to the land of freedom and the atomic bomb—and cried for Americans to rise again to greatness, to the kind of teamwork and boldness which won the war.

Instead of rising to greatness, America began sliding back into "normalcy."

By 1946 no inspired leadership had arisen in America that seemed able to build a World Federal Democracy.

And so by 1946 it was evident that mankind was wandering in a wilderness of fear and war and anarchy—lost, dazed, doubtful of the future, looking for a way out and for the clear course ahead.

Ever since Hiroshima we have been living in the "valley of the shadow." Before we have finished our course that shadow may grow far darker. We may never emerge from the valley. Man may remain "obsolete" until he goes the way of the dinosaurs. A new Hitler may rise and wipe out free civilization with a blitzkrieg of atomic bombs. A mad or careless scientist may one

day destroy the globe. Russian suspicions of us may deepen, or Stalin's successors may oppose collaboration. The United States may alienate Asia into an eternal enemy by our inaction for freedom or by our support of imperialism.

This picture is startlingly tragic, but we must be prepared to face the worst. Only by understanding how very bad the present situation is can we summon the courage, the vision, and the audacity to plan and carry through the necessary strategy for building a world government.

To secure world law and order we must first recognize that we haven't got it; to preserve and extend freedom in the future we must immediately understand how gravely freedom and free civilization are threatened now; to secure peace and prevent another war we should face the fact that we are already drifting toward World War III.

It would be simpler and pleasanter to conclude here with some of the hollow sounds coming from the "statesmen": "San Francisco was a great step forward. . . . The United Nations Organization will keep the peace. . . . UNO is a fine beginning. . . ."

Would it not be more statesmanlike to admit that mankind is living in international anarchy, that suspicion about the use of the atomic bomb is a just cause for alarm, and that if man is ever to emerge from the "valley" he must rise to great deeds?

This, if ever, is the supreme moment for man to hold fast to *faith* and *hope*. We must have faith and hope that time will be given us to build a democratic world government and with the years granted we must work with all our strength and ability toward that great goal.

We must not give up to fatalism with the easy philosophy of "eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we may die." We must not give in to normalcy. As Harold Stassen said, we must not "surrender before the counter-attacking assault waves of cynicism. . . . We need no scoffers today. We need men."

For these are again the times that try men's souls!

To answer this call for greatness we must have faith and hope for the future. In that spirit we must take on the huge political task of building a world government and the tremendous educational job of laying the popular foundations for World Union by creating a spirit of democratic world citizenship.

The road to world government will never seem easy until it has been journeyed and inscribed in history. Today's dilemma is that no clear-cut path toward the goal can be agreed upon. Some believe that the United Nations Organization holds the germ of government and that gradually, over the years, the UNO will develop from a league to a real federation. Others maintain that no league in history has evolved gradually into a federation, that leagues always break down and then, if ever, are replaced by a federal

union. Some feel that instead of working through UNO all efforts should be to replace UNO immediately by a federal world government. Others believe that the surest course to eventual world government is by forming a "nuclear" federation of democracies inside the UNO which could perhaps grow in membership until it covered the whole world.

These dilemmas are real. They stem from really great obstacles to world federation. The two greatest obstacles are the Soviet Union and the United States of America. As yet, neither nation is ready or willing to enter a representative world government, let alone take the lead in forming it. When one, or both, of these stumbling blocks to world unity have been prepared for world government, then we should expect to see a clear road ahead for world government.

Therefore this book is not outlining how mankind can achieve world government. It does suggest certain things men and women, veterans and students can now do to help prepare the way for World Federal Democracy.

One of the advantages of writing a book at 19, instead of 49, is that you aren't expected to give all the answers. What follows now is not to be considered as a final outline for world government work. It is the illustrative position one Student Federalist would now set forth. It is prefaced by the realization that there is yet no single path to world government and that history may some day say that many diverse roads to world government were possible.

It seems logical that a world government will be formed at a time of crisis when all nations are forced together. Opportunities like that for a start toward World Union have already come and gone: to the democracies, during the pre-war period of fear of Hitler, to Britain and France at Dunkerque, and to America after Pearl Harbor. The crisis of the atomic bomb offers another such opportunity.

A world government can be forged during these times of crisis—when the iron is hot and can be molded—only when enough nations are ready to rise to the occasion and with the backing of their peoples bring forth an idea for World Union so strong that it will sweep all obstacles aside.

Brought forward with the right timing and with enough clarity and enough backing the dynamic idea of World Federal Democracy could arouse the peoples of the earth. World Democracy is part of every man's ideal. By revitalizing democracy, adjusting it to the Atomic Age, and carrying it out to the World State, we may be able to convince the leaders of the U.S.S.R., and we would certainly have the wholehearted support of the earth's common peoples.

During one of these periods of crisis, if the U. S. A. were prepared to throw its full power behind world government, and if there were World Federalist governments in enough other nations, the time would be ripe

for the calling of a World Constitutional Convention. It could probably be called through the machinery of the UNO, perhaps by a large vote of the General Assembly. All nations could be invited and we would find that almost all of them would be there, working for a democratic world union. The delegates would frame a world federal constitution, just as the American delegates to the Philadelphia Convention in 1787 drafted the U. S. Constitution.

The World Government would begin as soon as enough nations had ratified the constitution.

Timing will be all-important. The Convention must not be called until it is assured that a sufficient majority of the people of the earth and their governments are ready for the World Republic.

The difficult problem will be this job of creating the conditions which would make a World Constitutional Convention practicable. There are three fields in which we can work toward this end now: (1) With the people of the U. S. A., (2) with the people of other nations, and (3) with the governments through foreign policy.

(1) *With the people of the U. S. A.* At present there are many roads one could take for world government in America. One is by federalists entering politics directly, at the local level, selecting a political party, working in it—and holding fast to the idea of world government. Mediocre men will not be able to supply the kind of leadership which will be required when the time for world unification arrives. Puny politicians may be forced by public opinion and pressure groups into supporting steps toward world government, but they can hardly be expected to rise to the kind of statesmanship called for. If federalists are in earnest they should prepare themselves to join the political fight openly. This means they should learn the American political system and work through it.

Another course is through work in pressure groups. Almost every group in America—farmers, workers, manufacturers, women, veterans—have some means of exerting joint pressure on the government. This is an unofficial but highly important part of our system. Not only should federalists have their own pressure group for world government but they should work through all the other groups.

Another course is along the line of education. Through educational agencies and organizations the world government idea could be spread. Teachers can play a vital part in instilling a spirit of world unity and democracy in boys and girls. A movement such as Student Federalists can have a significant educational effect.

There is always the lone road for the single pioneer who prefers to work independently for World Union—without joining with others—through his writings, talks, friends, or job.

Before the Union is achieved these separate paths will probably all run together into a single great thoroughfare. It may take the form of a giant World Federalist mass movement. It may become an actual political party.

Statesmen will have to come forth for World Federal Democracy, and they will require political support. Since the greatest issue of all will some day be the issue of world union ("To be or not to be"), there will eventually have to come a realignment of political parties in this country. One of the established parties will raise its sights to world government—World Republic or World Democracy Party—or a new World Federalist Party will have to be formed.

As yet there is no clearly defined course for American federalist work. As yet no great world federalist leaders have risen, who like Alexander Hamilton in the 1780's put personal ambition and everything else aside before the all-important goal of Federation.

It is a tragedy that the work for world government has not advanced further than it has. But Emery Reves, in his great book *The Anatomy of Peace*, presents reasons for hope: "In this modern world of ours, with mass-circulation newspapers, motion pictures and radio, capable of reaching the entire civilized population of the earth, a decade is ample time for a movement to bring to triumph the principles of universal law, if such a movement is guided by men who have learned from the churches and the political parties how to propagate ideas and how to build up a dynamic organization behind an idea."

(2) *With the people of other nations.* Similar federalist movements will be necessary in as many nations as possible. Already World Federalist groups have formed in most of the English-speaking lands, in some Latin American countries, and in most of the European democracies, some in their resistance movements. Citizen education and political organization for world government will be needed in each of these countries. A global World Federalist Congress, to co-ordinate the strategy in different parts of the world, may be necessary in time. Unfortunately, an open world government movement could reach some peoples only with the consent of their governments. In those totalitarian states, either the government must be persuaded by the logic of events, or an irresistible people's movement for World Federation will be necessary.

(3) *Through the governments, especially U. S. foreign policy.* Until America's policy is designed to end the very use of policy by forming a world government, the United States must not only have a foreign policy, but must have a strong liberal one. In our foreign policy rests the responsibility of keeping the way open for World Federal Democracy, of preparing the way for it, and even moving down the road to world government as far as possible. As an illustration of the kind of American World Policy which seems

to me to be working in the direction of World Federal Union, I present the following points.

U. S. FOREIGN POLICY

We should wholeheartedly support the UNO, seeking to keep the world's spotlight upon it, to encourage loyalty to it, to strengthen and improve it wherever practicable, and as far as possible to develop it into a democratic world government. Here are some suggestions for our UNO policy:

1. The United States should support an *Atomic Control Commission*, preferably coming under the jurisdiction of the General Assembly. We should advocate giving this Commission authority and the facilities for controlling the atomic bomb and harnessing atomic energy for peace.
2. We should work to develop the *General Assembly* into a World law-making body, by delegating it real powers and by improving its method of representation. Assembly delegates should be elected directly by the people of the respective nations, and each country should be represented according to its literate or voting population, or by some other formula.
3. In the *Trusteeship Council* the U. S. A. should always stand for the freedom of peoples, urging nations to transfer their colonies to UNO administration, and opposing imperialism with all our vigor.
4. In the *Social and Economic Council* and its *Human Rights Commission* we should stand for dynamic, progressive democracy; We should lead the way toward 20th century applications of democracy around the world; and we should strive to find a common basis of understanding of economic and social democracy between the Soviet Union and the Western democracies.
5. We should attempt to have both Germany and Japan placed under direct UNO administration by the General Assembly. Here would be an excellent field to give the UNO some specific sovereignty. The UNO should act to destroy Nazism and militarism, encourage liberal elements, and re-educate the populations as far as practicable, so that in time both Germany and Japan may become self-governing members of the world community. Never again, however, should either nation be permitted to build machines of war.
6. In the *Security Council* the United States should work to establish ever-closer relations with the Soviet Union, at the same time striving to end the Big Power veto. UNO is a tool which the national governments can use for peace, but if five hands have to be on the tool before it can move in any direction, it will often prove useless at critical times.

However, since armies, colonies, tariffs, embassies, and state departments are still outside the UNO, the U. S. A. must have just as strong and just as liberal a policy outside as inside.

1. With the U.S.S.R. we should work to increase cooperation by a policy of American financial loans, technical assistance, expanding reciprocal trade, and cultural exchanges carried out in a spirit of frankness and friendship. We should make a giant continuous effort to find a common basis for a world government, doing everything in our power to prove our sincerity.

2. In *Europe* the United States policy should be clear and strong, supporting democratic governments, helping rebuild the continent, and contributing to its support with food, loans and materials. We should encourage the formation of a United States of Europe, a democratic federation which would include all free nations on the European mainland, and use our influence to get Britain and Russia to agree that Europeans might unite under this common federal government. Such a union would be a dramatic lesson in the value of the *federal* principles.

3. In *Asia* United States policy should be vigorously on the side of freedom for all peoples and against imperialism in any forms. We should never align ourselves with the colonial powers in re-instating imperialism. We should work closely with a free and independent Philippines. We should help China to rebuild itself along *democratic federal lines* and aid India to her freedom. For World Federal Democracy to be possible in our time democracy must prove itself in Asia.

4. In *South America* the United States should promote the unity of the Americas and foster the growth of free government on the whole continent.

5. With the *British Commonwealth* we should maintain close economic and military ties, as a beginning of similar close unity with all free nations.

6. In the *United States* we should strive more than ever to improve our democracy as an example to the world. America must always stand for freedom everywhere. We should support the application of federal principles to world problems wherever practicable. We should elect Congressmen and Governors and Presidents who support such a policy as this, so that eventually the government of the United States can be dedicated to achieving the Government of the World.

That is the policy which many of us Student Federalists are advocating. The picture seems very black, with fear, suspicion and nationalism rampant in the world. All we can do is support the foregoing policies and make them better known. As young people we can't carry them out. Our main job is preparing ourselves and our generation for this kind of leadership when our time comes.

In the meantime, the responsibility for supporting such a strong, vigorous, liberal world policy for America belongs to the senior generation.

The world is waiting for such a policy. Pearl Buck says Asia today is "cynical and waiting." The whole world is cynical and waiting—looking toward America.

The common peoples are cynical because they doubt that America will do anything. They see no signs of a stirring, a rising, to greatness in the U. S. A. Yet they have not lost all hope. They are still waiting for a clear course to lead them out of the wilderness, for the great idea of a great age.

We are in the "valley of the shadow." If we sight our course on World Federal Democracy and move forward through the valley toward that goal, we can reach the highlands on the other side, and the bright days of the new and happier age awaiting all men.

E. B. WHITE Government is the thing

June 1, 1946

THE EGYPTIAN DELEGATE, retiring from his presidency of the Council, stepped down in a burst of candor. Doctor Afifi Pasha said he was depressed and humanity was disappointed. It seemed to him nations were acting each to further its own interests, not to further the cause of people generally.

That is precisely the case. To change it around is precisely the task. How set nations to work furthering the universal (rather than the special) cause? What treatment is there for the disease of nationalism, a more troublesome disease at this point than cancer? The treatment is known, but not admired. There is a specific for nationalism. We use it every day in our own localities. The specific is government—that is, law; that is, codification of people's moral desires, together with enforcement of the law for common weal. The specific comes in a bottle and is very expensive. The price is terrific—like radium, only worse. The price is one ounce of pure sovereignty. Too expensive, say the elders of the tribe.

Read the papers and see what the people want. Security. Human rights. Freedom of the press. Peace. Control of atomic energy. Read the papers and see how the statesmen propose to get these plums. Through national power. Through balance of same. Through international accord. Through pacts and agreements (there is the five-year treaty with no frosting, the ten-year treaty with jelly filling, and the twenty-five-year treaty with a prize hidden in the batter). Through commissions. Through Operation Crossroads—to determine which is the more durable, a battleship or a tropical fish.

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Through foreign policy. Through secret diplomacy (which is merely a redundant phrase for diplomacy). Through the creaky, treacherous machinery of international relations against the same broad, chaotic backdrop of pride, fear, absolute sovereignty, power, and the colorful banners we saluted in assembly hall as pupils in grammar school.

Doctor Afifi is right; the people are not satisfied. During the first postbellum year, nations have approached the future each to gain its own end. A fair question is this: Can nations now act in any other than a selfish way, even if they want to, given the political equipment which they have provided for themselves? We doubt it. A wrong turn was made somewhere, as far back as the Atlantic Charter—that beloved document which expresses people's desires and their noble aims. The Charter could have shaken the world, but it failed to. It almost made the grade and not quite. It specifically stated the freedoms we grope toward, specifically denied us the means of achieving them. It reserved for each nation full and unlimited sovereignty —and in so doing wrote itself into history's wastebasket. Again, at Dumbarton Oaks, the right turn was avoided, discreetly, and with many words of cheer, of good will.

But the earth, scratching its statesmen as though they were fleas, heaves and rocks with big new things. This is one of those times. The people feel the disturbance. They know it's here, they fear its consequences, and they live in fear. Living in fear, they act with suspicion, with tension. If anyone were to run out into the Square and shout, 'Go east!' like the characters in the Thurber story, there is a good chance you would see an eastward movement in the panicky noontime; Orson Welles managed it in a mere radio dramatization, way back in the days before the atom was fairly split.

World government is an appalling prospect. Many people have not comprehended it (or distinguished it from world organization). Many others, who have comprehended it, find it preposterous or unattainable in a turbulent and illiterate world where nations and economies conflict daily in many ways. Certainly the world is not ready for government on a planetary scale. In our opinion, it will never be ready. The test is whether the people will chance it anyway—like children who hear the familiar cry, 'Coming, whether ready or not!' At a Federalist convention the other day, Dean Katz of the University of Chicago said, 'Constitutions have never awaited the achievement of trust and a matured sense of community; they have been born of conflicts between groups which have found a basis for union in spite of deep suspicions and distrusts.' The only condition more appalling, less practical, than world government is the lack of it in this atomic age. Most of the scientists who produced the bomb admit that. Nationalism and the split atom cannot coexist in the planet.

Leadership is the thing, really. And we seem not to have it, anywhere in the world. Premier Stalin's speeches have been strictly jingo since the end of the war. President Truman carries a clipping about the 'parliament of man' in his wallet, and keeps his pocket buttoned. It takes a small country like Egypt even to speak the dissenting words. The large countries speak more cautiously and circle around each other like dogs that haven't been introduced, sniffing each other's behinds and keeping their hackles at alert. The whole business of the bomb tests at Bikini is a shocking bit of hackle-raising, which is almost enough in itself to start a bitter fight in the crazy arena of amorphous fear. One scientist remarked the other day that the chances of the explosion's doing some irreparable damage to the world were one in a hundred septillion. Very good. And if there is one such chance, who can authorize the show? What is the name of the fabulous ringmaster who can play with the earth and announce the odds? There is no such character. The natives who were tossed off Bikini are the most distinguished set of displaced persons in the world, because they symbolize the displacement that will follow the use of atomic power for military purposes. If one atomic bomb goes off, in real earnest, the rest of us will leave our Bikinis for fair—some in the heat of stars, some in the remains of human flesh in a ruined earth.

Government is the thing. Law is the thing. Not brotherhood, not international co-operation, not security councils that can stop war only by waging it. Where do human rights arise, anyway? In the sun, in the moon, in the daily paper, in the conscientious heart? They arise in responsible government. Where does security lie, anyway—security againt the thief, the murderer, the footpad? In brotherly love? Not at all. It lies in government. Where does control lie—control of smoking in the theater, of nuclear energy in the planet? Control lies in government, because government is people. Where there are no laws, there is no law enforcement. Where there are no courts, there is no justice.

A large part of the world is illiterate. Most of the people have a skin color different from the pink we are familiar with. Perhaps government is impossible to achieve in a globe preponderantly ignorant, preponderantly 'foreign,' with no common language, no common ground except music and childbirth and death and taxes. Nobody can say that government will work. All one can guess is that it must be given an honest try, otherwise our science will have won the day, and the people can retire from the field, to lie down with the dinosaur and the heath hen—who didn't belong here either, apparently.

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